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**CONSTRUCTION PROFESSIONALS AND MANAGEMENT
IN ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT
– A TRIANGULATED INVESTIGATION**

BY

DAVID GEORGE COX

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR A DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

DURHAM UNIVERSITY BUSINESS SCHOOL



14 APR 2002

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DAVID COX

**CONSTRUCTION PROFESSIONALS AND MANAGEMENT IN ENGLISH LOCAL
GOVERNMENT – A TRIANGULATED INVESTIGATION**

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS – submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Durham, Durham University Business School, 2001

The Thesis focuses on architects, engineers and surveyors in English Local Government. The research question recognises difficulties these professionals can have in engaging with management approaches and practices.

The Thesis begins with a case study and, following a literature research, employs informal and formal interviews, together with a questionnaire. The opportunity is taken to seed Vignettes drawn from personal and colleagues' experience, to provide a quasi-anthropological parallel commentary. Also of significance is the degree to which the writer has relied on his professional experience during the course of the research. This has influenced the methodology and the application of surveying techniques, such as triangulation, has assisted the academic research. Experience has also influenced the style, presentation and use of language. Most significantly, it has resulted in a Thesis which is neither wholly theory driven nor wholly theory driving – it is a mixture of the two and draws strength and vigour from this hybridisation.

From the research, which examined the issues in terms of the reasons behind the ambivalence of many professionals to management, the differences and similarities between the construction professionals and the role of context and contextual awareness, it emerged that an understanding of the internal and external context in which professions in local government work was of vital importance. Also important was the need for a shared lexicon and the recognition that management can be seen by professionals as a rival rather than complimentary systemised set of procedures.

The writer has adopted an iterative and triangulated approach. The use of triangulation matures as the research proceeds and, together with the conclusions from the research question and lessons for management development of construction professionals, is offered as an output in its own right.

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CHAPTER 1 - CONSTRUCTION PROFESSIONALS AND MANAGEMENT IN AN ENGLISH LOCAL AUTHORITY - THE CASE OF RUTTLESHIRE

Introduction

For many professionals in senior positions in Local Government in the years of the Conservative Thatcher/Major administration, many of the certainties which had seem immutable at the beginning of their careers had become clouded by questions. Flowing from this questioning emerged a range of challenges. These challenges were directed at professionals in general and, because of the particular nature and impact of these challenges, construction professionals found themselves in centre stage. So, what were these certainties and, as importantly, what were the challenges? The certainties were, in part, about continuous, structured and guaranteed employment, where career progression, status and disciplined professional hierarchies were seemingly assured. Certainty was also reinforced by the increasing confidence of professional bodies, which is evidenced to some degree by their willingness to externalise credentialling, the increasing portability of and reliance on these credentials and the relative increase in prosperity of their members. Other certainties revolved around relationships with others. Critical among these relationships, in a Local Government context, were those with elected members and the public, although in the case of the construction professions - because they were often engaged in providing support services to other departments - these key relationships also extended to colleagues in other departments. The certainty in these relationships resolved around trust and an easy reliance on specialist knowledge.

The challenges are represented in a variety of guises and the impact was not always as direct, for example, as the abolition of standard fee scales or the adoption of Compulsory Competitive Tendering and (latterly) Best Value. In many ways, the more subtle of the challenges resulting in loss of influence of construction professions on policy making or the loss of confidence in solutions based on professional judgement, have appeared to have more far reaching implications. There was, and concurrently with the above, an increasing diminution of the cohesion of Local Government in general, brought about through imposition by Central Government. This manifested itself in the abolition of Metropolitan Counties, Right to Buy, Education Reform, Incorporation of Colleges, Independent Police Authorities, Local Government Reorganisation and a range of major and minor changes to the way Local Government disposed and organised itself.

At this early point the writer offers up a case study as an exemplar of the issues and challenges impacting on our architect, engineer and surveyor professionals during the last decade of the 20th Century in one Local Authority. This case study creates the first point of reference for the thesis, as it seeks to identify some themes and questions in addition to seeking to provide some colour and background to the emergence of the research question. The case study provides a view towards the context of experience of construction professionals working in local government during the period and towards the context of ideas and issues circulating during the period. The writer also provides a parallel commentary on his experience as a participant in the process which finds expression explicitly in the form of vignettes which appear at intervals throughout the thesis and implicitly within the text as proximity confounds a wholly detached stance.

Rutteshire is a geographically large English shire county with a population of some 500,000. It is diverse in its make up, containing significant pockets of severe deprivation and unemployment, consequent upon declining traditional heavy industry as well as areas of relative prosperity. Parts of the county rely heavily on tourism. Agriculture remains an important contributor to the local economy.

Politically, Rutteshire is a curious mixture with Labour support concentrated in the centres of population – particularly strong in the old mining, steel and shipbuilding areas and the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats holding sway in the rural areas. The case study begins in 1990 and there had been no overall control since 1985, a pattern which was to continue until 1997, when Labour secured a majority. The consensus approach developed in the early nineties, when Labour and the Liberal Democrats maintained a relatively easy alliance and the Conservatives found themselves facing the option of remaining silent or defending a government, one of whose main aims seemed to be to undermine effective Local Government, continued to some degree after the '97 election, despite Labour gaining overall control.

Organisationally, the County Council is proud of its reputation for innovation and has celebrated diversity by allowing all parts of the organisation considerable discretion to respond to pressures and demands in the most appropriate way. One size fits all is most definitely not the Rutteshire Way and over time the organisation has developed a remarkable tolerance for independent action which to many outsiders borders on anarchy, but to most insiders is seen as form follows function – where function depends on what works best at the time.

Ruttlshire is financially sound and consistently enjoys plaudits from informed commentators who recognise the resilience, vibrancy and flexibility which flows from its style and approach. Its geographic distance from London, coupled to the absence of scandals (of all sorts) has allowed it the space to develop its culture out of ministerial gaze, but because Ruttlshire sits to one side of mainstream Local Authorities, it has not enjoyed the financial benefits which visibility can bring. As a result, its gritty independence finds expression in squeezing every advantage it can from a seemingly uncaring world.

Early Developments

Ruttlshire County Council, in common with most Local Authorities in the United Kingdom, approached the last decade of the Century with a good deal of trepidation. The Thatcher Government had reform based on market forces firmly on the agenda and most Local Authorities were anticipating change. Ruttlshire's Annual Report for 1987/88 contained a Commentary from the Chief Executive which forecasted what the Chairman in his foreword described as "upheaval" under the heading "Change".

"First, the Education Bill signals major change in the County's schools and colleges; in their curricula, in monitoring pupil performance, and in the role of parents and governors. Its significance is predicted to be as substantial in shaping national life as the Education Act of 1944 has been in recent decades.

Second, the Council's funding arrangements will undergo radical change with the abolition of domestic rates and the introduction of the Community Charge in 1990. Business rates will continue, but will be set by the Government and not by the County Council nor any other Local Authority. The rate support grant system will be revised as a part of the new funding package.

Third, the Government's wish to inject stronger market disciplines into the delivery of public services is being pursued through legislation which will introduce greater competition into the business of the Council, both in the way in which it organises itself and in its contracting procedures.

In short, the Council faces a period of upheaval. It will cause the Council to amend policies, practices and conventions that have stood for decades within the Local Authority scene. Within the Council, elected Members, officers and employees will be affected as moves towards a different culture and attitudes are made. Within the County at large the shape and style of many County services will change recognisably, most notably perhaps in schools and colleges. The year 1987/88 marked the threshold of these major changes, and much needs to be done in preparation for their realisation in the Nineties."

Significantly, in this 1987/88 Annual Report, it talks about the recently created "Department of Property Services" which is introduced as follows:- "During 1987/88 the Department of

Property Services began to come together as a team to meet the challenge of managing the Council's property, and the amalgam of the former Architects and Estates Departments is now delivering an improved professional service to the Council's Departments." However, by the end of 1989 the Department of Property Services was under scrutiny. At the Top 50 Conference, a then annual event, in October of that year, delegates were asked to *"justify the retention of the control and administration of the central maintenance and minor works budgets within the Property Services Department."*

By May of 1990, the County Council had agreed *"that the proposal for the separation of the Department of Property Services into an Architectural Practice and a Corporate Property Services Department be approved in principle for the purpose of consultation with the Trades Unions and the Officer Group referred to in the Note carry out such consultations reporting further to the Committee through the Direction and Advisory Sub-Committee."*

The detailed proposals envisaged the establishment of an Architectural Practice with no base line funding, linked to a Property Client Department (Corporate Property) by a Service Level Agreement and relying entirely on income generated by fees.

Interestingly, much of the motivation to challenge the recently established Property Services Department appeared to flow from concerns about complaints from schools about day to day maintenance support and services. One cynical observer commenting later on the mood at the time said *"they (Members) were worried about losing schools; something had to go"*. That the Director of Education was recently in post may have been significant, although there is no direct evidence to support this.

Comments from those authoritatively involved in the detailed work provide a flavour of the thinking behind the decision *"we don't need an architect to brief an architect"* (Assistant Chief Executive in notes of a meeting). This robust comment arose following a strong defence of the status quo by the management of the then Department of Property Services, who argued that elected members must have direct access to professional advice. This approach, if adopted, would have preserved the existing close relationship between professional advisers and policy makers.

Much attention at the time was paid to issues of political sensitivity which was viewed as essential to long-term success but was seen by many professionals as crawling to Members. However, implicit in the proposals for the establishment of a new arrangement for discharge

of Property Services functions in Ruttlethire, was a general dissatisfaction with the style and approach of the Property Services Department. The evidence about this general dissatisfaction is difficult to identify in the papers, since published meeting notes are neutral in tone, but it did emerge in interviews for new Chief Officer posts, where attitudes to professional roles and attitudes to client demands and market forces were obviously significant.

Vignette 1

A Curious Appointment - *This Vignette provides a perspective of the tensions between elected Members and senior officers revolving around the continuing appropriateness of having a registered architect to head up the new department in Ruttlethire.*

Notwithstanding Members informal requests to ensure recruitment of an experienced general manager rather than a registered architect to head up the newly established County Architects Department, the outgoing Chief Officer inserted the requirement that the appointee must be a registered architect. Members became aware of this late in the appointment process and, although interviews were held, no appointment was made.

Following interviews, Members struck out the 'architect requirement', revisited the applications received and slotted their choices into the interview process for another Chief Officer appointment in progress.

The 'non-architect' interviewees, of which the writer was one, found themselves in curious company answering some curious questions and at the end of the process an additional appointment of County Architect was made.

The local branch of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors objected to the appointment of a non-architect to a County Architect's post (in their haste Members had not realised that the term 'architect' enjoyed legal protection) in the expectation the appointment would be declared null and void. In the event, Members changed the name of the department and the title of its Chief Officer.

As an unlikely result of the above events the new Chief Officer, the writer, found embryonic research questions forming in his mind about the motivations and attitudes of key players.

Hard evidence did, however, emerge later when, in January 1991, the Assistant Chief Executive (and soon to become Chief Executive) wrote in a confidential report to Members "there has been a lack of leadership and management control within the former department." Elsewhere in the same report he tells County Councillors that "solutions will not appear overnight. Indeed, it will be a long uphill struggle to achieve considerable changes in structure, attitude and working practices" This is not, however, a view held in isolation and reflects a wider view illustrated by a joint statement made by Group

Leaders in the latter part of 1990 and concurrent with the Property Services debate, which said *"there will be a greater scope and responsibility for managers to manage, with that freedom will come a sharper accountability for team performance and budgetary control"*. This statement is, noticeably, silent about how this is to be achieved with the (then) current committee structure and clouded Member responsibilities.

What is clear is that elected Members of the Authority were actively promoting formal management training for staff and links had been forged with a local University to launch a part-time tailored MBA programme. Criteria for selection for volunteers were difficult to ascertain, although the sole long-listed applicant from the construction related departments at the time (who was ultimately unsuccessful) suggested that the principal quality necessary to acceptance revolved around proximity to policy making and previously identified scope for and latent ability to advance. High level commitment to this management development programme is evidenced by its three year duration and its continued access to corporate funding, despite budgetary constraints.

Senior Officers in Property Services were not silent, however, in their defence of the status quo and there is an evident tendency to concentrate on structures and reporting arrangements, rather than on the unstated (but clearly implied) dissatisfaction with attitudes and behaviour. *"I would expect the budget to be controlled at the centre but the allocation is a highly detailed result of professional judgement"* (An Assistant Director in Response to Proposals, Background Papers). *"The monitoring of the capital programme needs to be done by the Practice (the professionals) since they will be providing all the information to the Services Departments I would prefer to see a situation where the (Client) Department build up the budget for the Practice and they agree fee levels and service level agreements. In fact the word negotiate seems to have re-appeared in the final text. Perhaps you would substitute the word agree"* (Director of Property Services in a personal letter to Assistant Chief Executive). *"It would seem a total contradiction to have involvement of the (Client) Department in negotiating the fees where an appointment is made by a Service Department I see a problem whereby the (client) Department appears to be maintaining budgetary control, yet the implementation will be placed with the Practice (the professionals)".* (An Assistant Director in response to Proposals, Background Papers). *"I assume that in order to resolve this issue the agreement will be between the (Client) Department merely as overall budget holder and detailed decision making within that budget will be carried out by the Practice"* (An Assistant Director in response to Proposals, Background Papers).

Senior Property Service Officers were also concerned about the professional autonomy, independence and independence of identity – even within different branches of the same profession. One line of argument ran as follows: *“When I addressed the Working Group I made the point that whilst the basic training of both Valuers and Land Agents (I would prefer to refer to the latter as Rural Practice Surveyors) is the same, the ethos of the two branches of the profession is very different”* (An Assistant Director in Responses, Background Papers). Another took another line: *“At present the Building Surveyors identify the need for a modification to the Programme and the Chief Building Surveyor (takes the decision) on the appropriate course of action”* (An Assistant Director in Responses, Background Papers). The heretical assertion that professions should blur boundaries was responded to negatively: *“The option of forming multi-disciplinary teams has never been discussed and I would prefer to omit it from this Report”* (Director of Property Services in a personal letter to the Assistant Chief Executive).

It is significant that where responses are joint and from sections of staff it is not unusual to see full titles, complete with professional qualifications of all the signatories.

Vignette 2

Oliver Goldsmith Revisited - This Vignette provides a sight towards difficulties associated with poorly focussed problem framing

Early discussion within the new department about the challenges to be faced created a picture of unreasonable demands and aspirations of end users, coupled to interference by elected Members.

Members, on the other hand, described an arrogant ‘we know best’ culture amongst professional staff, coupled to a reliance on a restatement of professional standards and values amounting to disloyalty.

That the County Treasurer was consistently and regularly warning that there was insufficient work to justify existing staff numbers had passed seemingly unnoticed.

Also significant is an absence of responses from senior architectural staff. Reasons for this are unclear, although by the time the responses were invited, as part of the Consultation Procedures, it was clear that the title of the Professional Practice was to be the County Architects Department and job specification for its new Chief Officer included the requirement that the postholder should be a Registered Architect. Moreover, the title of the new Chief officer was now confirmed as County Architect in preference to the alternative

County Design Manager. This was, of course, set to change. A change not contemplated at this time in the process.

While the larger changes were debated a row was developing over the design for a Magistrates Court which was unpopular with elected Members. The criticism focussed on the tendency to focus on winning architectural awards (of which there had been several) rather than the less exiting routine day to day work of maintenance and small improvements. The Chairman at the time described this approach as "*architecture by architects for architects - and no one else*".

Interestingly, as part of the consultation process, there was a contribution from the most senior non-construction professional in the Property Services Department "*the role of the Practice is defined in the discussion note in terms of functions by profession. Whilst the professional skills have been the greatest asset of the Department, the attitudes engendered within the separate professions have been one of its greatest weaknesses. The Department has never been conceived of a single unit within the Department itself, except by a very few, and the aims and objectives of the Department as a whole have been subverted by the aims and objectives of the individual professions. This issue was raised by the Director at recent discussions, but any movement away from a professional based structure was strenuously opposed. I therefore consider it unfortunate that the report, and particularly the diagrams, are based on professional groupings; structures should relate to the aims and objectives of the two new Departments, and in the case of the Practice, I think it should be client orientated. I fear that if the Practice is structured in professional groups, it will simply carry on the tradition of a collection of separate professional practices, and any benefits accruing from a large multi-disciplinary practice will be lost – in fact its very existence as one unit would be in question.*"

By the time the new Chief Officers of the Practice and the Corporate Property (Client) Department were in post in November 1990, all but one of the previous Property Services Management team had either found other work or had accepted early retirement through voluntary redundancy. Both departments had been without clear leadership for some months and the Practice, which is the focus of attention for the early part of the Case Study was managing uncertainty under the direction of one of the former Assistant Directors, who had applied unsuccessfully for the Chief Officer post, and third tier Heads of Profession – Chief Quantity Surveyor, Chief Mechanical and Electrical Engineer, Head of Architecture and Chief Building Surveyor. The then Chief Administrative Officer, who describes morale

at the time as "rock bottom, I've never felt so low. Things were bad and the way I felt was typical, but there were many feeling worse than me."

There was, however, a catalyst for re-motivation, but it was not the new Chief Officer appointment. Rather it was the need to refocus attention on where the income was coming from in time for zero budget status scheduled to be in place from 1st April 1991. A rapid analysis before Christmas 1990 showed there was likely to be insufficient income to meet current salary costs – by a considerable margin. The preparation of the first Business Plan was not only critical it was needed urgently. It was also a task few, at the time, understood the need for, since there seemed to be a general acceptance of the idea that business could and would carry on very much as usual. Indeed, similar rhetoric from politicians in the past had heralded little real change.

Vignette 3

Commercial without Confidence - This Vignette suggests links between loss of confidence and territorial concerns of professional staff

An early imperative was to achieve sales of professional services to schools with delegated budgets and the discretion to secure advice from alternative sources. The exhortations to provide a balanced presentation of options available to schools were largely ignored by professional staff who majored on the risk and dangers of going elsewhere and the lack of experience of the schools in procuring professional services.

Unsurprisingly, schools reacted negatively to this approach and some began purchasing professional services elsewhere. Those professionals, who saw this as the beginnings of a damaging trend, demanded a reaction based on threatening schools with all sorts of dire consequences if they pressed ahead. The reaction proposed (and eventually adopted) was greeted with incredulity and that was not to discourage schools experimentation so as to facilitate an easy way back in if dissatisfied.

The urgent and immediate need for a robust Business Plan provided stimulation of the new Practice. There were, however, a number of issues requiring resolution part and parcel with its preparation. The first was that around £900,000 in fees was forward committed to external consultants (mainly sub-contract architects) and, in addition to a direct drain on income, some half a dozen senior staff were wholly or partially engaged in the appointment and liaison procedures. Resolution of this issue would go most of the way to resolving the short term income shortfall. The second was that the cost of travelling and subsistence: expenses were running at around 15% of salary costs, of which half was not recoverable. Rough analysis revealed that there seemed to be a disproportionate amount of visits in

connection with projects at distance and a good number of site visits began after 11 O'clock, which then entitled the traveller to claim a lunch, for which receipts were never provided. A reduction in travelling and subsistence expenses would make a disproportionate difference to the department's bottom line, because staff are not fee earning when travelling and analysis revealed that it was mainstream professional and technical staff which accounted for 80 per cent of travelling costs. Tackling this issue was a prerequisite for success as resolution would likely produce a breakeven position. The third, and potentially the most challenging issue, was that of credibility and reputation. The long and painful restructuring had left both damaged. Moreover, confidence was low following an attempt to recover reputation and raise morale through management's active pursuit of external plaudits, whether through Architectural Awards or through holding office in professional bodies, which drew no applause closer to home. Here, attention to those factors contributing to electoral success at the next poll was more important.

Damaged credibility and reputation was a key issue for senior professional staff. One comments, with the benefit of hindsight, as follows: *"I can still distinctly remember the accusations that Senior Officers were not listening to Members, were putting their professional interests first and were failing to focus on the real issues of service delivery to other departments and clients. I recall the lack of trust that existed between Senior Officers and the Chair of the then Property Sub-Committee, which led to poor morale and the feeling amongst staff that Members were constantly looking to find fault. I can't remember a great deal being communicated to staff about the reasons for dismantling of the department but I'm sure there were papers put to Committee at the time which would have addressed the changes in the usual bureaucratic style. I think most people understood that the Property Services Department wasn't delivering, had an out of touch management and there was a mood of failure by association. Around this time there was also a spate of forced and unforced departures from within the valuers professional group and this contributed to feelings of being unsettled and under valued"* (from correspondence with the researcher).

Professional staff also recognised that Member control was lost and with that, trust. A backward look from a property professional on the policy side provides information: *"My general feeling is that Elected Members had lost control of the Department (Property Services) with some officers (professionals) doing what they wanted to do rather than what the Members wanted them to do. Trust was lost and it was inevitable the Department would be split up so it could become manageable again"* (from correspondence with the researcher).

The first Business Plan in January of 1991 for the 1991/92 Financial Year was primarily a financial tool. Late in the run up to its preparation the new Chairman made it clear that she expected market level fees enshrined in its income forecasts, which (after negotiation) resulted in a rolling 15 per cent year-on-year ongoing fee reduction. It was, however, recognised that sustainability through to, and beyond the Council elections in May 1993 was vital to Member credibility, hung Council notwithstanding, and that the first Business Plan was more than simply a number crunching and cost reduction exercise.

Consolidation and Maturity

The publication of the 1991/92 Business Plan was significant insofar as it would set the tone for the medium term development of the new department. It was also clear that, as far as elected Members were concerned, there was an implicit approval of radical change. The then Chairman's advice to management to "*leave worrying about the Group*" to her and to "*do what it takes to make it work*" was evidence of the political will to effect change.

Vignette 4

It's the Little Things - This Vignette hints at the relative importance of status issues.

Cost reductions were necessary and this resulted in a number of proposals to amend terms and conditions of appointment - some fundamental. These changes were widely consulted upon.

It became apparent during the consultation process that the areas of most interest and concern lay in who has a car parking space, lunch allowances and expenses (especially who has essential status for car use) and most importantly job title.

Major changes to reward remuneration structures and the introduction of performance appraisal linked to incremental progression were scarcely commented upon.

The original final draft Business Plan used for presentation purposes to the Property Sub-Committee in January 1991 has a number of passages highlighted at the suggestion of the Chairman. Highlighted in the introduction, it says "*it is important that the broad thrust of philosophy is established at the earliest reasonable time we must understand the importance of our services to others, we must listen to and please our customers and that true professionalism is concerned with skills and attitudes.*" Pressure on staff to accommodate change and adopt flexibility in working practices were prefaced by a financial

budget which predicted a first year loss and the highlighted comment that the department “cannot pay its way on the basis of forecast income. Staff numbers will need to float below this (current) level.” The Business Plan also promulgated a structure on the following principles: “A relevant and understandable pay structure will be critical to success. Emphasis on formal qualifications will need to be balanced by performance measurement and ‘rate for the job’ must replace the hierarchic scale, band, increment philosophy..... Implicit in any organisational structure must be the principle of advancement by merit..... Effectiveness and flexibility will require a minimum number of tiers of authority”.

This, coupled to a commitment to raise the status of area offices (previously simply routine maintenance outlets) and to open three new area offices, posed a significant threat to the existing professional structure. The sensitivities of senior professionals was recognised by the establishment of a “Professional Home” to replace “Heads of Discipline” which would disappear in the new arrangements.

The rise in status of the existing and new Area Offices (called Practices in the new structure) created a number of opportunities for advancement for HQ based professional staff. A reluctance to relocate permanently to, what were previously thought of as career graveyards, was overcome by temporary promotions linked to short-term secondments (which were confirmed permanent as individuals decided to stay).

Vignette 5

We Know Best - This Vignette provides a flavour of tensions between professionals view of their client's interest and those whose views suggest professionals have the wrong client in view

An unforeseen result of the delegation of expenditure of maintenance money to schools was the insistence by the schools that they had a say in prioritising maintenance work and that they have an input into choice of materials, product and so forth.

This caused many professionals discomfort, since they tended to view themselves as working for the County Council as building owner rather than the schools as end user. This, coupled to decisions by individual schools to divert maintenance money from maintenance work to staffing and to prioritise (say) redecoration over re-roofing, caused some professionals to lobby elected Members in support of their position as custodians of the property stock.

To the clear surprise of the lobbyists, the elected Members (most of whom sat on schools governing bodies) were unsupportive, if not a little irritated by the approaches.

It was also decided to begin to allow the Practices the pick of local schemes and to identify those projects which were politically sensitive or important rather than those projects which excited the professionals. There was an emphasis on chasing local reputation rather than national awards and individual members of staff were given the authority to sort out minor maintenance issues on the spot, rather than needing to refer to HQ for approval.

Under the previous arrangements, photographs of senior managers were displayed in Area Office reception areas so that (mainly) local staff would recognise management if it visited. This practice was introduced when one unfortunate member of staff failed to recognise the Director and refused to allow entry thinking he was an unsolicited salesman. This was no longer necessary under the new arrangements as senior managers needed to visit to keep in touch with local developments.

What soon became evident was that one of the first casualties of the new “*relevant and understandable pay structure*” would be the existing travelling and subsistence arrangements. These were replaced, after lengthy negotiation with the Trades Unions, who were unable to defend a status quo where around a third of the staff were accessing significant benefits denied to the majority. It had also become obvious to mainstream professional/technical and administrative staff that the new arrangements may represent an opportunity to demonstrate a fuller range of competences. Nominees and volunteers joined newly formed Task Teams and enjoyed a status with management outwith that of the professional hierarchy.

Vignette 6

Attention to Detail - This Vignette suggests a predilection on the part of professionals faced with an external threat to rely on detailed technical argument to carry the day

There were a number of issues needing to be resolved with individuals. The most time-consuming and frustrating of these rumbled on for many months. It revolved around pension entitlement following a change in the leave year, which had been amended to run from 1st January, rather than 1st April, to avoid peak staff absence at financial year end.

The individual concerned, using arguments rehearsed in Pope Gregory's time, was convinced that he had sacrificed 1/40th of ¼ day of his pension entitlement. Insisting that it was a “matter of principle”, insulted by the offer of £20 to sort it, and writing at great length and with complex calculations appended, the debate continued until, exhausted by the whole episode, he took early retirement.

The focus for activity was survival and the clear management message that there was “*insufficient income to pay everyone ‘til the end of the year*” (circular to staff April '91) provided a clear motivation for change. The arbitrary withdrawal of existing commissions to consultants (mainly sub-contract architects) was solidly supported by the in-house architects (who comprised a significant percentage of the local RIBA membership) and drew forth only limited protest from those firms affected.

The second Business Plan for 1992/93 which predicates a 4.82% target return on expenditure, begins, in its introduction, by talking about Building & Design (as the Practice/Architects Department is now named) “*coming of age*”. It describes the changes it has undertaken as follows – “*Building & Design has undergone considerable change over the past twelve months and at a considerable pace.... Structural changes include the introduction of new management arrangements the move to multi-disciplinary work, and erosion of hierarchy. Cultural changes include the adoption of multi-role flexible working and the beginnings of performance appraisal.*”

This clear focus for activity based on maximisation of income and reductions in operating costs was not available to the Client Department – Corporate Property and it was adjudged to have failed in its principal role – which was to provide a clear property policy development tool for Members. In practice, its professionals preferred the comfort of a traditional departmental model and remained professionally divided into Estates and Valuation Surveying.

Both departments, Building & Design and Corporate Property, reported to the Property Sub-Committee and shared a common Chairman. It was decided to revisit the decision to preserve an estates linked client, made at dissolution of Property Services Department some three years earlier, and to establish a Policy Client under the direction of a non-professional administrator. The majority of staff then transferred to Building & Design, with its management being given the brief to integrate and replicate the business-like approach. Interestingly, the 1994/95 Business Plan, published in January 1994, begins by acknowledging “*Building & Design’s development into a mature organisation*”. Later, in the Action Plan, it proposed “*no major innovations, no change in course*”. Significantly, the County Council had amended Building & Designs reporting arrangements which were now to Policy GP Sub-Committee, rather than Property Sub-Committee (where the client

continued to report). *"This is a significant change and revolves around Members wishes to see the clearest possible split between client and provider."*

What became apparent was that the experiment to establish a Business Unit approach was considered by Members to be a success. At the County Council Residential Conference in December 1992, chaired by Sydney Roper, the proposition was put that *"the provision of services will always be important – whether undertaken directly or indirectly – but should always be a means to an end. Councillors should be involved in the interface between services and the community, but should focus on whether needs are being met rather than on the detailed problems of production."* In Ruttlethire, just over twelve months later, this would be re-emphasised in the wake of the next major organisational change.

Confidence, Contrast and Growth

By the time the 1995/96 Business Plan was written in November 1994 much had changed. Whilst it was true that the property professions were more at ease in their new business-like role, the same comfort amongst professionals was not evidence elsewhere in the County Council, where pressures were mounting for change and there was a growing perception amongst elected members that they were not seeing value for money in their in-house services and, perhaps more importantly for the long term, were unlikely to be able to maintain a viable in-house provision faced with the proposed extension of CCT into a wider range of white collar services.

A series of decisions were taken in the cycle of committees leading up to full Council, immediately before the summer break in 1994, which created three new committees and departments to service them. These committees were set up as Boards with a limited proportional membership of nine and with a brief to prepare for CCT – and win. First, the Central Services Board, which took under its wing Financial Services, Corporate Information Technology, Personnel Services and Legal Services. Second, the Construction Services Board, which brought together Building & Design, Highways & Engineering and the Land Reclamation Team from Economic Development. Third, the Education Services Board, which was responsible for co-ordinating the activity of those central education services offered to schools on a delegated budget basis – including Education IT Services, Special Needs Staff Agency and Schools Music.

The general approach in setting up each was interesting to compare. The Central Services Board had a seemingly arbitrary and inconsistent approach to the client side arrangements.

For example, on the financial services side, some forty professional and technical staff remained at the corporate centre to provide policy guidance and clienting to around a hundred business unit staff, whereas the Personnel Policy Unit was left with three staff to monitor forty. Legal Services, who were fundamentally opposed to the concept, engineered an arrangement where it was not clear who was monitoring whom or indeed who did what. When the Central Services Board sought to appoint a Chief Officer to manage the unit, each of the Section Heads were committed to independence and opposed the appointment. Members were faced with a united opposition and an argument based on the dangers of establishing a top heavy management structure and, lacking the appetite or the ammunition, allowed each unit to report independently and on a different basis.

As far as Central Services Board Members were concerned, there was little excitement in this activity – and little understanding of the work or motivations of the professional staff involved. To be Chairman of the Central Services Board had no votes in it and was not considered by most Members to be a prestigious appointment. The Construction Services Board, on the other hand, was considered more attractive to senior elected members. There were normally high visibility projects going on all over the County. There was an opportunity to influence priorities and spending decisions and, in both highways and property, photo opportunities at opening ceremonies were frequent. In short, it was both interesting and influencing work and as a result the Board had a strong membership.

Other differences emerged as a result of the Building & Design experience, whose Chief Officer and senior managers were clearly focussed and emerged as the leading lights in the new arrangements – despite Building & Design contributing less than thirty per cent of Construction Services staff numbers. Here was a tried and tested model capable of immediate introduction into the new department.

Also, and significantly, because a number of senior Highways Managers had elected to remain behind on the policy side (which itself had assumed a wider economic development role), there was a range of immediate opportunities for mainstream highways staff – enhanced in number by a flatter structure and substantial area office proposals for devolving local highways functions. One senior engineer, in correspondence with the researcher, went as far as to describe the proposals as “*thrashing the professionals*”.

Interestingly, there was a good deal of tension around at the time about the multi-disciplinary proposals for area offices. Building & Design staff were by now comfortable

with surveyors, managing architects and vice versa, but highway engineers were extremely nervous of this seemingly heretical approach. It was said at the time *“that the only thing binding architects and engineers together was their mutual distrust of planners”*. and this manager’s comment was echoed by an engineer who, when approached with a view to assuming a wider role, responded by saying *“you can’t ask me to look after a bunch of architects – it’ll be like herding cats – ridiculous”* (from notes of briefing meetings).

A Senior Highways Engineer, in correspondence with the researcher, describes his feelings at the time as *“misunderstood, undervalued, demoralised and challenged”*. He also talks about the *“disturbing feeling of being labelled as in need of serious sorting out”* and feeling *“pretty brassed off really”*. Interestingly, whilst *“disappointed to be perceived as professionally arrogant”*, he is *“confident that important professional ethics could be maintained”*.

The Education Services Board was a curious construction and the demoralised officer tasked to bring it together was not confident in its long term future. He commented later *“that it comprised all the bits of Education (Department) that nobody wanted – and that included me”*. Its membership of Councillors was also there under a misconception as to what it was about and its business relationship with schools – its main customers – was ill defined and not fully understood – not least by its staff. Its first task as a Board was to turn around Schools Music Services, a task in which it spectacularly failed, since problem issues re-emerged as unresolved three years later, and as a result there was little motivation to implement further changes.

These three Boards and Departments functioned for almost four years and we meet then again early in 1998. However, the activity of the new Construction Services Department moves into focus as subject of this part of the Case Study, as it moves forward through the mid nineties. The changes outlined above flowed into the 1995/96 Construction Services Business Plan although structure, style and rationale was firmly Building & Design. This consistency of approach was helpful but it was opportunistic rather than planned – there was simply insufficient time to start afresh and to use a tried and tested approach was a prudent way forward.

The 1995/96 Business Plan, in its introduction, flags up impending CCT and highlights the commercial uncertainty associated with the absence of base-line funding. The opening section of the Business Plan, recognising that Construction Services is an amalgam of three

departments, addresses the need for cohesion. *"Business Plans can and should be a useful internal communication tool. In uncertain and changing times it needs to provide corporate cement and demonstrate clear vision and leadership"*. Later this theme re-emerges in the guise of marketing: *"This marketing opportunity will only be realised, however, if all parts of the organisation are bending their minds to a common purpose and their wills to a common philosophy"*.

The key issue underlined by these ill-disguised exhortations to unity is that the majority of the new department of Construction Services did not want to be part of it – and did not fully appreciate why (or for what reason) it was assembled. This lack of understanding, and resultant lack of easy cohesion, was a serious threat to its long term survival. It was imperative that the new department began functioning properly as quickly as possible.

The threat of impending CCT, shrinking work programmes and potential redundancies provided a unifying threat. The destruction of professional hierarchies to fit the Building & Design structure model provided the flexibility and motivation (and recognition). The quest for work to replace that which was lost was the long term solution and the means of survival.

By November 1996, when the 1997/98 Business Plan was tabled at the Construction Services Board Meeting, much had changed. The introduction to the Business Plan began –

"In the concluding paragraph of the foreword to last year's Business Plan, we talked about the need for a glaze of good fortune. In a sense, it was a plea for breathing space. A time to settle down and take stock.

Good fortune we had. But it was not in terms of breathing space. Nor was it in terms of settling down – although the pace of change has moderated a good deal. Our good fortune appeared in the guise of more work – from every quarter and of every type.

It has been a tremendous boost to confidence within the organisation – that certainty that we can trade punches with the best of the private sector in the pursuit of opportunity and come out ahead."

So what has happened?

The short answer was that Construction Services had enjoyed successes, across a wide spectrum of activity, in direct competition with the private sector. The long answer is more complex and it is, therefore, perhaps worthy of a lengthier exploration. But, to facilitate this

exploration we must return to the beginnings of the first Business Unit which emerged out of Property Services Department reorganisation in 1990.

The first Business Plan for the Architectural Practice projected a modest loss, which because a financial loss was politically unacceptable (and would be the subject of unwanted attention by District Auditor), or indicated a surplus of staff. Options for voluntary redundancies, however, under the then generous Ruttlethire Retirement Scheme were limited. Firstly, the majority of those who were both willing and able to take advantage of its terms had already done so. Secondly, those areas of work at most risk (architectural design and minor works) were generally undertaken by younger staff who were not only unable to take advantage of the Retirement Scheme (50 years of age being the watershed), but represented the seed corn for the future. Thirdly, there were concerns about balance and critical mass because, should the Practice contract much below its current numbers, it would not be able to offer a full range of architectural related services or accommodate the normal geographic ebb and flow of activity and priority changes.

This last factor was the subject of a good deal of early discussion. The Heads of Profession inherited from Property Services Department argued, by reference to other Local Authority departments, that critical mass and balance was already below acceptable levels and that professional functions were already being performed by unqualified staff. Management, however, argued, by reference to competitor private practices, that ratios of professional staff to technical (unqualified) staff were disadvantageous – the ratio in Local Government was in the order of 2 professionals to 1 technician, the ratio in private practice ideally was the reverse.

Also, and significantly, Local Authorities (and Ruttlethire was no exception) had prided themselves on their record in training professional staff. Many of the unqualified technical staff in the Architectural Practice expected this commitment to vocational training leading to professional qualification to continue – indeed some were mid-way along training programmes. Moreover, the salary structure reflected this commitment to professionalism by making it difficult to progress into the Principal Officer Range without possession of a first tier professional qualification (The Purple Book, which was the official manual in such matters at the time, differentiated between qualifications eg architect = 1st Tier, environmental health – 2nd Tier).

The problem, which went to the heart of both long term viability and professional sensitivity was approached in three ways. The first, flowed from the dismantling of professional

groupings and the sharing of staff who could function across disciplines. The second was the opening up of promotional opportunities to submissions based on merit and experience. The third was the pursuit of growth – for with growth came the ability to achieve change comfortably in a positive atmosphere.

Perhaps most importantly the concept of growth and the pursuit of more work provided a unifying aim – one with which the mainstream professional staff and management could unequivocally agree on. It also had the advantage of being an aim which was easily translatable and easily communicable. It was a message greeted by elected Members with enthusiasm who, despite communication problems of their own at a base line level, wanted nothing more than a successful Practice.

There was, however, a difference between the pursuit of more work and its acquisition. And there was a general acceptance that efforts focussed on bringing new clients on board would be better spent in securing the existing client based which had been destabilised, was less than satisfied with the general level of services and was about to enjoy increasing discretion as to how and where it could source its support services. Early progress was, as a result of dilution of effort, slow. However, it was progress and was clearly helped by an early decision to categorise a number of dissatisfied existing clients as “lost” so, when they remained with the Practice, they counted as “gains”. Paradoxically, the limited number of small scale projects of this sort, which began to feed through in 1991/92, were used as examples of success by those elected members and officers (notably the Chief Executive – formerly the Assistant Chief Executive responsible for Property Services Options Report) who were proponents of the client/provider split and the business-like approach. This early limited success undoubtedly raised morale in the Practice and also assisted the discussions (then ongoing) about the remainder of what was Property Services and which led to its formal reintegration into the Practice.

Up to March 1994, and helped by the creation of the re-enlarged Building & Design Department, the retention of existing clients and the cultivation of potential new clients continued with renewed vigour. Confidence grew on early successes and County Council programmes continued to shrink in both scale and value, providing motivation. During this period, senior professionals in Building & Design were wrestling with a number of issues which flowed from the commercialisation of their activity. Case notes on two individuals illustrate some of the issues.

The first concerns one of the Managers responsible for minor works projects in the newly created Practice. This Manager was formerly the Chief Building Surveyor under the Property Services Department banner and was recognised nationally for his work with the Chief Building Surveyors Society in programming maintenance work. He was a contributor to Audit Commission published advice to Local Authorities and pioneered Quinquennial Survey Methods. Under the new arrangements schools with delegated budgets and with short term planning horizons shifted money from building maintenance into staffing. This was a double blow, because not only did it mean that five year planning strategies were in chaos, but also (and perhaps more damagingly) it underlined that responsibility for the fabric of the buildings had passed from professionals at the centre to laymen on site. Increasingly dispirited by events and failing to see a role for himself in an environment where if a Head Teacher wanted PVCu windows as replacements and if the Head Teacher insisted on having PVCu windows against best professional advice, the PVCu windows were provided. The individual opted to retire.

The second concerns the Energy Conservation Unit. Or, as it was styled in Property Services days "The Award Winning Energy Conservation Unit", recognising its Local Government league table status. From 1986 to 1990 the Unit had progressively centralised purchasing of electricity, gas and so forth and, latterly, had introduced state of the art computerised controls so that some thirty major sites, including twenty secondary schools, enjoyed the benefit of sophisticated zoned systems – all controlled by modem link from the centre. Problems began when school caretakers (or Site Managers as they were styled) asked for override facilities. The professional electrical and mechanical engineers (who managed the system) were unsympathetic and it was not long before local system malfunctions began to devalue the advantages of central control. Schools, in particular, keen to assert their new found autonomy (and unaware, for the most part, that the controlled system avoided the need to pay their Site Managers overtime to ensure appropriate operation) began refusing to pay the BT connection charge for the modem link. Within twelve months, the programme and the Unit was no more. On the plus side, the Practice earned little income from the activity and cessation released competent staff for fee earning activity. On the negative side, when in 1999 County Council's were tasked to develop Energy Conservation Strategies, Ruttleshire had difficulty in responding. An interesting comment at the time of dissolution of the team, by its head, suggested that the Professional Approach was about the "Long Term" and it provided an insurance against "short term management fashion" has resonance today.

In 1990, the end of Property Services Department, the professionals were disparaging of their private sector colleagues professionalism in the context of fee competition. "*You get what you pay for*" and "*cut price fees equals a cut price service*" were common comments – almost a mantra in defence of local government professionalism. By 1994, and in the run up to assimilation into the new Construction Services Department, there was a recognition amongst Building & Design professionals that clients' views of local government professionalism was that it was "*belt and braces*", "*ponderous*" and (most importantly) was often a standard and inappropriate service lacking imagination and out of step with clients' real needs.

It is, perhaps, not surprising therefore that, when faced with significant challenges in the pursuit of new and replacement highways related work, it was Building & Design staff, tempered by four years of commercial effort, that suggested the best approach would be to find credible private sector work partners to assist. The resistance to this idea by the civil engineering professionals was only exceeded by their desperation to succeed. The approach worked.

A difficulty with civil engineering work is that it tends to be parcelled out in largish lots. A few large eggs in a small number of baskets. This was to prove almost fatal when, in 1997, despite modest improvements in workload spread across the whole department and in spite of victories in Property and Highways CCT competitions, Construction Services lost the Highways Agency Contract for Managing Trunk Roads and Motorways in Ruttlethire. This work represented some 18 per cent of total income – and it was lucrative no risk work. Notification was in December 1997 but the "going live" date for the new contract was April 1999. With some 15 months to prepare the quest for work to replace this major contract went into overdrive.

Members were concerned about potential redundancies and Construction Services was concerned about losses of key staff. There was a political will to trade through this problem and the time and motivation to do it. By April of 1998 Construction Services was half-way there and by September 1998 most work lost was replaced. The ability of Construction Services professionals to deal successfully with a major commercial setback was sufficient to give elected Members the confidence to propose a further major re-ordering of the County Council Structure.

Deus ex Machina

As the view back into Ruttlethire moves into 1998 we see the County Council, now under one party control for the first time since 1985, anxious to respond to exhortations to modernise from the Blair Government. This results in an abandonment of a traditional committee structure and an attempt to put in place a Cabinet-style single party executive which was thwarted because absent primary legislation was necessary before this can happen.

The resultant “*political fix*” (Chief Policy Officer comment) to resolve the problem of having neither committees nor a legally supported executive resulted in a “*fudge*” at the centre and a comprehensive scheme of Officer Delegation with Chief Officers reporting direct to County Council on “*the exercise of their Delegated Powers*”.

As the Committees were abandoned, so were the three Boards responsible for white collar support services. The decision was made “*in principle*” in July 1998 to combine all these services under Construction Services Management, since it was alone of the three in having both a Chief Officer managing it (who already reported to County Council) and a cohesive Management Team.

Construction Services reaction appeared to be a mixture of flattered and cautious. Although the approach adopted by Construction Services had worked for the Construction Professions, there were reservations as to whether it was exportable into other professions such as finance, IT, personnel and so forth. Also, it was clear that there was no compelling exterior influence to provide motivation to change – CCT having been publicly abandoned in favour of Best Value, which was a less than understood and more nebulous concept to grasp.

In 1994 Central Services professionals, accountants, lawyers and personnel practitioners had lobbied vigorously against the idea of a cohesive management structure for their group of activities and saw no need for a Chief Officer to head it up. One argument was based on the unnecessary (and unhealthy) dilution of advice if one professional was directed to deliver that advice to Members through, perhaps, a senior of a different discipline. Faced with this and what was effectively a take-over of the whole by Construction Professionals, all those threatened began lobbying vigorously for a Chief Officer, a cohesive management structure and an independent existence. The lawyers, who had contributed most to the lack of definition in the 1994-1998 arrangements, sought to fully distance themselves from Central

Services – claiming that they had never fully participated in it – and in any event, since they (the lawyers) were the only ones that really understood what they did, it was risky for elected Members to interfere and thereby expose themselves to (unspecified) risk.

The then Head of Financial Services offers up some illuminating comments in correspondence with the researcher *"there was, as always, some angst about the proposals. The Accountants showed more than the rest This was probably because they have stronger professional ties."* However, with the exception of the lawyers all arguments failed.

The picture in the Education Services Board was, as is so often the way in the world of education, different. Originally, this Board was created to engender a more business-like approach in Education Services. This was not a concept which was greeted with unbridled enthusiasm in Education Department and, faced with the need to give way on some things, a parcel of services was collected together on the basis of least needed/least wanted. Interestingly, this was a view shared by the unwanted realists who comprised it.

Interestingly, faced with a threat to transfer these unwanted services to Construction Service management, attitudes changed and Education Advisory Services, Youth Services and Education Awards rapidly became core activities in a new-look Education Department. The quasi-separate status enjoyed by the Local Education Authority and the County Council, coupled to silence elsewhere, ensured that the Education view prevailed.

Vignette 7

What's in a Name - This Vignette illustrates an idiosyncratic reaction to managerial fashion on the part of professionals in a neighbouring Authority

One senior colleague describes his Authority's response to similar challenges as "the day we went managerial" when his department "threw aside the professional yoke".

"We had Managing Surveyors, Group Leader Architects, Divisional Managers. Everyone became a Manager". He talks about one lowly clerk who began describing herself as Office Manager, who, when challenged that she had no staff under her to manage, retorted that she managed herself well enough.

The remaining Education Services, Education IT, Staff Agency and Schools Music transferred into the new structure – doubly unwanted. The demoralised arrival of what one Education Manager described as *"the stragglers from Napoleons retreat from Moscow"*,

coupled to the need to provide a focus for the new department of Design & Business Services, provided the first task for the new organisation – the turning round of Schools Music. A headline failure of the old arrangements and re-highlighted as part of the justification to change. This was achieved in three months by joint effort of all parts of Design & Business Services.

Commenting on her feelings at the time to the researcher, one former Education Services professional says *"not one manager from Education (Department) discussed the restructuring or implications with me. I heard a little bit about the changes in the summer prior to the move, but I didn't understand the implications."* She felt her level of information and understanding was not unusual.

Whilst the changes were progressed through the various decision making and consultative routes, there was a good deal of discussion about what this new department was to be called. The preferred choice of the majority of senior offers was Professional Services Department or Department of Professional Services. This, it was argued, would not carry over any suggestion of the imposition of one professional grouping over another and, at the same time, be readily understandable (and therefore marketable) to internal and external customers and clients.

The leadership of the ruling group reacted negatively. The justification for rejection was based around an argument that the use of the word 'professional' was pejorative, since it suggested that other departments must necessarily be 'unprofessional'. The Leader, however, offered a simpler explanation for the need for a another name for the department. He said that there was *"no way that his Group would sanction the re-emergence of professionalism in this Authority"*.

It is now timely to see what sort of questions emerge from the Case Study and to see if it is possible to identify some of the major issues which have been teased out our construction professionals attitudes to this change process. The roll out of this progress is evidence of the Authority's commitment to and satisfaction with it and that examination of the factors influencing its early implementation will prove a useful start point in identifying some key issues and at the same time enable a teasing out of some unanswered or partially answered questions.

Themes and the Emergence of an Issue

That the construction professionals in Ruttlethire had undergone significant change during the 1990's is evident. Also evident is that if tinged with the experimental to begin with, the approach was rolled out over much of the white collar professional support services of the Authority. It was a solution that the leadership of the Council seemed satisfied with. Moreover, the underlying concerns about the negative effects of professionalism were unassuaged some ten years after they first emerged as evidenced by the Leaders strong reaction against the re-emergence of the use of the word 'professional' in the departmental structure of the Authority.

This is the first theme since the challenge to professionalism draws out some of the most passionate responses from the challenged. There is also a marked increase in the use of managerial language to identify perceived failings and to describe solutions to problems resulting from those failings. This supplanting of the professional solution by a managerial one is certainly thematic and the motivation appears to be about budgetary constraints, dissatisfaction of end users (principally schools) and lack of attention to day to day issues at the expense of those to which attach a higher degree of professional priority. The (then) Chairman was most critical of the pursuit of architectural awards which was seen to be at the expense of routine maintenance work.

So, we can see tensions between a managerial solution to problems of budget, of end user satisfaction and of internal markets and a traditional professional solutions to these problems. We can, however, see these tensions at their most explicit in pointed discussions about professionals direct access to Members on policy advisory issues. Members' longer term aspirations appear to describe an arrangement where managers brief professionals (that is managers stand between Members and their traditional professional advisory network) and this is evidenced by a local university management programme focus on policy side officers, the absence of construction professionals on the programme and most significantly the explicit and implicit attempts to separate existing professional policy advice from this activity going forward.

Nor are our professionals able to agree on a single agenda and we see evidence of differences of view and approach as well as territorially driven arguments. There is also a strong suggestion that individual professions are in practice less cohesive than would be expected, particularly if the need to distinguish between land agents and valuers is symptomatic of a

more widely felt need to further sub-divide our professional groupings. The vociferous opposition to multi-disciplinary teams by the Director (an Architect) and the relative silence of the architectural profession may therefore make more sense if it is recognised that, in the existing pecking order, the architect was the senior profession. The description of the threat of continuing in a professionally ordered hierarchy by the non-construction professional on the old management team highlights the problem.

Questions about morale and self-worth arose throughout the change process and there seems no doubt that our professionals felt devalued and unwanted. Interestingly, this was recognised in terms of loss of trust and respect by elected Members, although there is clear evidence that our professionals saw a professional solution as the best and most appropriate way to regain it.

It is fair to say that much of the clearest evidence in the Case Study occurs early on. It is also fair to say that whilst little of any substance emerges later to take the issue forward, there is the continuous comfort of reinforcement - even to the extent that professions unrelated to those of our construction subject display similar reactions and attitudes.

The theme which transcends others, in a sense that it underscores the passage of change, is our professionals seeming failure to grasp the need to adopt a managerial approach, stance, attitude (call it what you will) to maintain power, influence and some control over their careers and source of motivation. This is particularly surprising given that the three professions of architect, engineer and surveyor have project management skills deeply infused into their every day work and that a managerial approach is therefore not an alien or unfamiliar concept.

The most surprising or confusing aspect of the Ruttleshire case is not that the Authority saw the need to change, or even the route it chose, but rather the way our construction professionals failed to react in such a way as to become part of the solution rather than be perceived as part of the problem. This is underlined by the presence of seasoned senior professional staff in managerial positions with a wealth of understanding of the environment, albeit changing, within which they operate. Why was that?

On the face of it our professionals, our architects, engineers and surveyors, appear to react in similar ways, but there appear to be differences, perhaps subtle, between our professions. Also, when exhorted to embrace managerialism by the Leadership - implicitly by

encouraging a multi-disciplinary approach and non-aligned senior managers and explicitly by MBA programmes - did our construction professionals not only fail to seize the opportunity but rejected the challenge by restating the values of their professionalism. Why was that?

The research question clearly has a component which says "*why is it that construction professionals are ambivalent about the idea of management and the managerial approach as a method of solving problems and achieving organisational aims and objectives?*" There is also an implicit subsidiary question about similarities and differences in our three professions, whilst acknowledging the clear similarities a component of the research question could look to see "*what are the differences in attitudes and approaches to management and managerial issues between architects, engineers and surveyors?*" There is an aspirational higher level aim or purpose of the research to see whether there are any general lessons or pointers for the management development of our professions.

In terms of a way forward the writer proposes to move forward using a form of triangulation. To obtain a fix on the issue from three separate perspectives. The first perspective or triangulation point is that viewed through the lens of Rationing and Rationalities. This perspective is chosen to provide a flavour of the climate conditioning the environment in which our professionals are working. Rationing and Rationalities is chosen as a perspective due to the underlying and continued pressure on resources and the resultant pressure on accepted ways of working. Externally we see this pressure in the form of CCT legislation and internally on the efficiencies intended by client/provider splits and quasi-contractual relationships. That pressure of lack of resources is of significance is also evidenced by the effect of successes in growing the business and the resultant securing of core workload, which secured space and manoeuvring room to deal with necessary changes. Rationing of increasingly scarce resources and the pressure on our professionals which flowed from it was a key influence and driver of change throughout the decade under consideration in Ruttleshire.

The second triangulation point derives from the thematic emergence of managerialism as an alternative to professionalism and the task is to see what sort of differences exist - real or perceived - between the two approaches. If rationing and rationality represents a manifestation of the problem, the managerialism clearly emerges as a representation of the solution. We see the reaction against the professional solution expressed in the language of management. Lack of leadership and control is presented as solvable by clear accountability

and managerial approaches. This reaction against professional style and solutions is most starkly evidenced by the expunging of the term 'professional' when describing roles and in terms of credibility. This is evidenced most strikingly by the time span covered by the reaction against professional labelling and that it spanned changes of political leadership and control.

The last triangulation point tries to obtain a fix on the issue from the perspective of power, since there is a power struggle in progress. Expert knowledge and the power/influence base which derives from it is under challenge by exponents of managerialism who claim to have better and more appropriate and pragmatic solutions to resource and other problems. This is evidenced by the range of detailed arguments about who sits at what point in the policy/provider chain, who controls the influencing process and at what level, who controls what budget and who reports to who, as well as details about seniority and independence of individual professions.

Each of the three perspectives are developed using literary sources. This literature based approach has the added advantage of forcing the writer to leave his experiential base. It is therefore an exploration in more than one sense of the word. Once the triangulation is completed in Chapters Two, Three and Four, the writer will return to the research question to take stock and develop a way forward.

CHAPTER 2 - THE CLIMATE OF RATIONING AND RATIONALITIES

Introduction

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 will take the thesis forward by means of a review of literature from three different perspectives : rationing and rationality; managerialism and power. These perspectives emerged from the Ruttleshire case study as issues of significance enabling a development of understanding as to the environment driving change, the alternative solutions to the problems or challenges flowing from that change and the motivation of the proponents of the alternative solutions or approaches.

It is not unreasonable to view Chapters 2, 3 and 4 as a group and that together they comprise the second stage of development of the Thesis. This is partly because the choice of perspectives and the choice of triangulation was to some extent based on a pragmatic view of how best to take the thesis forward and the purpose of these three chapters to assist the development of the research question in Chapter 5. It also reflects the overlaps, common themes and inter-relationships which necessarily exist between the perspectives chosen and the contribution which these overlaps, common themes and inter-relationships make to the development of the thesis.

The literature research is ultimately about establishing parameters for the investigation as well as links and its purpose is to enable a refining of the research question such that the answer or answers to it are set in the context of existing knowledge.

Rationing and Rationalities - The Party's Over

The aims and objectives of this Chapter of the Thesis revolve around the need to explore the relationship between changes in the role of professionalism (and professionals) in Local Government and the influence of rationing. In a sense it's about the move from growth to contraction, or at best standstill. However, at a subjective level, it can be seen as a transition from optimism to realism. And a transition which, for many in Local Government, heralded the beginnings of a gentle but inexorable slide into the uncomfortable world of insufficient resources.

The Chapter begins with a review of some of the theoretical aspects of rationalism, with a particular emphasis on the different rationalities existing in a political environment where

individual and organisational priorities are balanced by politicians. A balance made more difficult to achieve if resources decrease and demand increases.

The discussion expands to examine the autonomy and independence necessary to sustain vibrant professionalism and the organisational tensions which this autonomy and independence creates when the politicians, mindful of the external climate, see the need to constrain it.

The Chapter moves on to debate the growth/contraction issue in the context of privatisation and the ideological implications which flow from it, pausing for a longer look at the way professionals have, seemingly, lost the respect of the public (and their employers) as their roles move towards implementing rationing policies and procedures, rather than advising on policies in formulation.

Reason, Rationalism and Politics

At an introductory level many writers take the reader back in time, acknowledging the growth of understanding of reason in society. Diesing (1973), by way of introduction, quoted Plato (Timaeus) "*Reason persuaded necessity*" and Wilson (1984) relied heavily on Weber (1904) to reinforce his opening remarks on the subject of rationality. It suggested an evolution of understanding of rationality, which in turn evolved in response to changes in society. However, if Weber remains right then the organisations within which our Architects, Engineers and Surveyors work are more likely to be involved in purposive or instrumental action (zweckrational), rather than rational (self justifying) or ritual (wertrational), then Mannheim's (1940) functional (or organisational) rationality is a relevant point of access.

Mannheim's unprejudiced, but modified, Weberian view of the essential differences between individual rationality and organisational rationality were expanded on by Diesing who, interestingly, felt the need for a temporary definition. This he expanded to include effectiveness as well as efficiency, whilst still accepting the distinguishing characteristics of Weber and Mannheim's twin rationalities:- "*An organisation is functionally rational when it is so structured as to produce or increase, or perceive some good in a consistent dependable fashion*" Diesing (1973, p3). This is wider than Mannheim's definition, on which it is based, although his (Mannheim's) narrower focus is likely to have been influenced by the then widely held view that business success was built on efficiency.

This thought is borne out, in part at least, by Mannheim's conclusion that functional rationalism results from the industrialisation (and resultant mass production techniques) of society.

The reconciliation between functional rationality and substantial rationality must rely on a form of subsidiarity where organisational imperatives are overlaid by a series of core principles and as both decision structures and resolving conflict are essentially political processes, so we could begin to see a link between rationalism and politics and, in turn, form a view as to the role of the professional in the system. This reconciliation is not compromised by Diesing's view that *"technical decisions, requiring goals given by higher authorities, are made at the lowest level; economic decisions, involving a co-ordination and comparison of the goals of different sections, are made at higher levels. Socioeconomic and integrative decisions are made at still higher levels, since these involve the modification of organisation goals; and political decisions, involving the preservation and correction of the total structure, are made at the highest level"* Diesing (1973, p184/185).

Vignette 8

Different Agendas - This Vignette exemplifies the tensions created when rationalities conflict

A commonly held view among elected Members is that professionals will often pursue their own professional agendas, aims, objectives and priorities, whilst ignoring those of the organisation they service.

One property professional was explaining his philosophy to a Council Meeting in the late eighties by describing his commitment to quality design. His assertion that it was preferable to build three new schools he could be proud of, rather than four schools to a less exacting standard, was greeted by silence.

Whilst Members were concerned about quality of design, they were more concerned with honouring promises made. Promises, which had involved a good deal of political effort and promises which needed four schools to satisfy.

As business success is more than simple efficiency, so an ordered hierarchy of decision making can serve to deny or reduce the relevance of context to those involved in technical decision making. Diesing's view that rationality in the decisions is facilitated by rational organisation – principally of society itself, but also of other forms of organisations – leads to a conclusion that political rationality is about decision making structures. This conclusion does, however, rely on the premise that thought is structured and bounded, rather than spontaneous and undisciplined, as some classical philosophers would have it.

The beliefs which underpin decision-making structures tend to be common to the participants – a form of ideologically shared purpose. However, as structures grow in size, so specialism and subsets of the organisation appear and discussion within the organisation is necessarily formalised. This is the ideological homeland of the professional in local government. That there are implications for Architects, Engineers and Surveyors working in complex structures, where technical decision making or policy advice on technical issues is represented at senior levels, is clear. Particularly so when technical issues are presented out of context and when there is a view that form should follow function and heads of technical disciplines should be recognised at a lower point in the hierarchy of an organisation. The existence of differing ideologies is also part and parcel of the limitation of people to be rational in an objective sense and it could be that, as many professionals in Local Government find themselves in influential positions within the decision making structure, so professionals' roles change in response to shifts in influencing ideologies responding to shifts in other rationalities. Thus, political shifts in emphasis and relative authority in the decision making process affect the role of the professional in the organisation. It is, however, not simply an issue of rationing, it also impinges on issues of power or relative authority.

If this change in emphasis and shift in the relative authority between Elected Members and the professional Architects, Engineers and Surveyors has occurred, then what forces lie behind the change; what effects are seen by those involved to be most significant? Interestingly, it is possible to see many of the climatic changes affecting Local Government and the roles, responsibilities and relationships with and between professionals working in it, as driven by a change from continued and certain growth to contraction and shortage of resources.

The assumptions highlighted by Leach, Stewart and Walsh (1994) relating to the basic structural elements of a Local Authority – the necessity of the committee system, the tradition of departmentalism, and the enforced role of the centre – provides a framework and a route to a subsidiary set of assumptions. This subsidiary list, alongside self-sufficiency, uniformity, direct control and formal accountability, assumes some dominance of professionalism. It is this hierarchical and ordered inter-dependence of assumptions and presumptions that provides a flavour of the relationships and symbiotic nature of the processes supporting the integration and influence of professionalism in Local Government. The authors go on to summarise the position and authority of professionalism in the following powerful terms:- *"Because professionalism both defines the tasks to be carried out*

and underlines the structure of departments, it becomes difficult to envisage a Local Authority in which professionalism is not dominant" Leach, Stewart & Walsh (1994, p25).

The authors move forward through Redcliffe-Maud to Bains and the general move to corporateness in Local Government, they do however acknowledge that ultimately it is the 'state of the world' which, as it changes, will change Local Government. This changing state of the world creates a different rationale for those professionals working in Local Government and, whilst Hollis's (1970) assertion that there are limits to irrationality must be true (if one is rational that is), it would probably not involve a significant shift in order to unsettle a stable relationship for professionals accustomed to a stable environment: *"Professionalism brings real knowledge, real skills and real commitment, even though it can also bring rigidity, narrowness and an over-dependence on political authority"* Leach, Stewart & Walsh (1994, p148).

Schon, in a subtitle to his first chapter, talked about the *"Crisis of Confidence in Professional Knowledge"*. This he described in the context of limitations of professional knowledge based on *"technical rationality"* to solve complex problems. Schon talked about professionals solving management (and perhaps unimportant problems) by application of research based theory and technique, whilst being insensitive to the 'messy' problems which are of *"greater human concern"* Schon (1987, pp1-21). Interestingly, Schon used civil engineers as exemplars of the distinction between the two sorts of problems and the limits of technical rationality.

"Civil engineers, for example, know how to build roads suited to the conditions of particular sites and specifications. They draw on their knowledge of soil conditions, materials and construction technologies to define grades, surfaces and dimensions. When they must decide what road to build, however, or whether to build it at all, their problem is not solvable by the application of professional knowledge, not even by the sophisticated techniques of decision theory. They face a complex and ill-defined mélange of topographical, financial, economic, environmental and political factors. If they are to get a well-formed problem matched to their familiar theories and techniques, they must construct it from the materials of a situation" Schon (1987, p4).

It is arguably an issue of problem setting or problem definition which creates or generates irrelevance for off the shelf technical solutions and their professional purveyors. But it is also about context and, whilst Schon's view reinforces the hierarchically subservient position of Architects, Engineers and Surveyors, it also confirms the need for more than simply a professional perspective. This changing world (or society) must affect the role of the professional in its institutions and in Local Government in particular, but rather than pursue

examination of these changes under the umbrella of 'enabling' which variously arrived on the agenda via government think tanks such as the Centre for Policy Studies (Ridley 1988), or through the Local Government Training Board/Clarke and Stewart (1988, 1989, 1990) and Brooke (1989), it is proposed to look at the changing world under other headings: Autonomy and Independence, Growth, Contraction and Privatisation, Respect and Denigration, Advisors and Rationers.

Autonomy and Independence

One of the main planks of professionalism, as definer and nurturer, is the autonomy and independence which professionals enjoy. Or at least aspire to enjoy. This autonomy and independence is seen in the context of independence from managers, and in the Local Government sense, seen in the context of independence from elected Members and the virtuous adoption of the non-political specialist high ground. Stoker referred to Pollitt's (1993) view in terms of autonomy and independence from managers, professional ethics represent an almost ideological affront to managerialism: "*The concept of professional judgement and autonomy is seen as antipathetical to the new management which claims a greater capacity and legitimacy*" Stoker (1993) p5, and Clarke and Newman (quoted in Cochrane, 1993, p108) made the point that: "*Management is the necessary corollary of the dismantling of the familiar structures of bureau-professionalism. Managers are those who 'understand' markets; who can extract the untapped potential from the 'human resources'; who are sensitised to the 'needs of the customer'; who can deliver results and who can be relied upon to do the 'right thing'*" Clarke and Newman (1992, p8).

Are we here seeing professionalism in conflict with another ideology, described by Stoker as the "*Ideology of the Citizen as Customer?*" Stoker (1993, pp4-10). What we are, almost certainly, seeing is a challenge to professionals (and our Architects, Engineers and Surveyors are vulnerable in this respect) who may not have a rounded or 360 degree view of the world or environment in which they work. The greater capacity of management is about greater understanding as much as it is about greater anything else. Travers referred to Stewart (1986) when he describes the "*challenges to professionalism*" and concludes that the politicians as well as the public are increasingly suspicious of "*professional power*" and professionals over protection of "*their own interests*" cloaked as professional independence Travers (1993, pp37-48).

Both Hoggett (1991) and Cochrane (1993) identified a trend for professionals to seek legitimacy by adopting the language of management. This is the corollary to the argument that rather than controlling professionals by strengthening management, it is preferable to try to create managers out of professionals. This approach builds on the view that the Citizens Charter (and latterly Best Value), in pursuit of total quality management, seeks to include rather than substitute for professionalism Stoker (1993, pp4-10).

Widdicombe, reporting on the Conduct of Local Authority Business in 1986, referred to party politicisation as a “*tidal force*” impacting on Local Government. This increasing politicisation was to increasingly impact on professionalism as elected Members, arguing that the traditional division between policy and implementation frustrated their ability to ensure delivery of manifesto promises, sought to constrain the autonomy and independence of action of professionals. It is also possible to see Members perceptions of professionals’ independence as mistrust of vested interests – the clearest indication is the increasing preference to seek advice from independent consultants, rather than seeking advice from in-house professional officers. This may also be about the recognition that external advice brings with it experience of other environments and a broader perspective.

Vignette 9

***Stealing the Shine* - This Vignette illustrates why politicians can point to examples in support of their feeling of mistrust of professionals**

One Local Authority employed a Dutch architect to design a new public library. He was proud of his work and, as is customary in mainland Europe, he proposed to ‘sign’ his building by incorporation of a plaque bearing his name above the front doors.

It was explained that, whilst it was common practice “where he came from”, it would not be appropriate here for a professional to enjoy the status reserved for elected members. He was refused.

The opening ceremony is remembered for the untimely discovery of the word “Albert” patterned in the entrance lobby floor tiles.

This questioning of professional’s judgement by local politicians is, however, more than a diminution of trust. It is also about an adjustment of priorities, such that public accountability can be better assured: “*An acceptance of professional standards should not necessarily take precedence over other expressed needs and aspirations*” Hodge and Thompson (1994, p5) and look forward to a world in which “*professional expertise is not jealously guarded, but shared*” Hodge and Thompson (1994, p15).

At first sight the reaction of professionals to these pressures from developing managerialism and re-assertive politicians is to either accept constraint or to redefine themselves as managers. In a constrained role, the professional continues to advise elected Members, but autonomy is restricted by guidelines and inspection regimes and, perhaps more importantly, the acknowledgement of constraint by the professional confirms a different relationship with elected Members. Professionals who define themselves as managers tend to eschew specialist knowledge, deriving satisfaction (and hopefully plaudits) from delivering organisational performance. This is seen at its sharpest where organisations are changing and judgement of success tends to revolve around the management of resources. Stoker (1993, pp4-10), however, identifies three other adoptive roles for challenged professionals. At the extreme end of the continuum he describes the de-skilled professional. A stage beyond constraint where the simplification of task and the routine and repetitive nature of the process ensures subservience. Sitting somewhere in the middle of the continuum and yet to adopt the language of full blown managerialism lie the two strands of professionalism seeking to maintain some form of autonomy and independence. The first seeks autonomy and independence by adoption of a DSO style operation, described by Stoker as the Contracting Professional: "*Professionals in the contracting relationship trade on their value for money in providing the service to the authority and on retaining their good reputation with their clients*" Stoker (1993, p7). Here professionalism and its associated values can be protected, but the sacrifice is normally a decline in influence in policy matters. This has clear resonance with Ruttlethshire.

The second seeks autonomy and independence as advisers to the quangocracy – moving from Local Government into TECs, Higher Education, GM Schools, Colleges, Housing Associations, Waste Management companies, and so forth. Interestingly, it is probably the part-time nature of Quango Board appointments which generates reliance on the professional rather than a climatic difference in this recently created environment. It is fair to say, however, that in most cases the professional has compromised to survive or switched to managerialism to preserve a different form of freedom of action.

This re-engineering of the role of the professional in Local Government has been identified by Stewart, Clarke, Stoker, Pollit, Hoggitt, Newman and others in the context of a rise in aspirations and an increase in the power of elected Members. Interestingly, the constraints have been designed, for the most part, by constrained professionals and managed by managerial professionals. It is significant, however, that commentators have identified a reluctance of professionals to take over management functions and the resilience of

professional groupings. Highlighted by Clarke and Newman (1992), reinforced by Burrage (1992) and building on seminal work by Jamous and Peloille (1973) and others subsequently, the distinction between managers and professionals is, as Ackroyd (1996) has it “*resistant to erosion*”. Ackroyd goes on, pointedly, to talk in terms of professionals not having taken advantage of their situation to take over management functions, which, given Burrage’s suggestion that professions favour division into craft committees, lends credence to the view that specialism will triumph over generalism in the mind of many professionals in an organisation sense, as well as from a technical perspective.

Growth, Contraction and Privatisation

Much of the language of commentators described ‘challenges’, ‘pressures’, ‘opportunities’, ‘threats’ and talked about ‘change’, ‘reinvention’, ‘innovation’, ‘re-engineering’. It is a dynamic use of language and a dynamism in response to a dynamic change and many observers suggest that the principal catalyst for change was the incoming government in 1979 and its mission to ‘roll back the frontiers of the state’.

Whilst it is clearly a watershed in the focus and development of local government in the United Kingdom, there is some evidence that earlier governments had attempted, with varying degrees of success, to arrest the growth of local government prior to 1979. For example “*it is possible to exaggerate the extent to which the election of the Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher in 1979 was a sudden, radical change the previous Labour government had started the process of trying to reduce spending*” Flynn (1997, p5).

Flynn also made the interesting point that the Thatcher government was less effective at reducing the scale of welfare state institutions than the Major administration: “*The government under John Major’s leadership was in some ways more radical, using processes which had been established under Thatcher governments to tighten control over the welfare state and introducing an ideology of management that had real effect*” Flynn (1997, p6).

Although Jordan and Ashford (1993) dismissed the step change, Marsh and Rhodes (1992) suggested missed opportunities and failure to achieve objectives, and Hills (1993) challenged the existence of an acute public expenditure crisis, there was clearly a shift in mood and an emerging view, but perhaps not yet a consensus as to style and approach, since it may have been as much about management as it was about a move from growth to contraction. From a

Local Government perspective, contraction it was. For by and large and on balance, services were lost or transferred, budgets were cut and competition was firmly on the agenda and for many in and around Local Government it was also about privatisation and a new ideology, described by Pollitt (1993) as '*neo Taylorism*' and by Jackson and Price in the following terms: "*Privatisation, in its variety of forms, has been a predominant global ideology of the 1980's. The sale of public assets, the introduction of competitive tendering, deregulation and the establishment of surrogate markets within public sector organisations, are examples of the generic policy referred to as privatisation*" Jackson and Price (1994, Preface p viii). The authors point out "*that much of the philosophy of the privatisation programme originated in a variety of think tanks in the UK during the 1970's*" Jackson and Price (1994, Preface p ix). This may be pivotal because there is the potential to confuse a number of parallel environmental issues which enjoy the benefit of coincident birthdays, but not necessarily the same adoptive parents.

This confusion is not simply about the ideological preference for private as opposed to public ownership as opposed to the economists' preference for resource allocation based on markets rather than administrative convenience. It is also about the confusion between short run and long run effects of privatisation efficiencies and potential disbenefits for long run pricing/investment policies. This confusion weakens coherent links of policy. There is also some confusion about whether a change of management (privatisation) works as a means of improving performance with Singh (1971, 1975), Firth (1979, 1980), Grossman and Hart (1982), Hughes and Singh (1987) and Hughes (1989) suggesting that it does not, and Malpern (1973), Mandelker (1974), Asquith (1983) and every motivated candidate for a new managerial position, suggesting that it does.

There are also studies by Bishop and Kay (1988, 1989), Rowthorn and Chang (1991) and others, which point to improvements in organisation and the fact of competition as being more significant than privatisation in securing improved performance. This is underlined by Jackson and Price, who wondered whether improvements through privatisation are simply an ideological smokescreen: "*A puzzle which emerges from the experience of privatisation is that prior to the sale of a public enterprise to the private sector, it is frequently observed that governments make a drive to improve the performance of the enterprise: fattening the calf before taking it to market. This is often more than just a cosmetic exercise of fixing the accounts by writing off debt, etc. If efficiency can be improved through better management then why sell the public enterprises – can the private market improve upon it?*" Jackson and Price (1994, p7).

There is also an argument advanced by Pollitt that effective management does require context and, whilst acknowledging generic skills, the argument suggests some weight needs to be given to specific knowledge and understanding. Pollitt uses the below to highlight his concern: *"there are general and political skills which are common to all managerial jobs insofar as these involve working with people, and indeed are probably required for all those jobs where tasks are interdependent. However, where judgement and discretion are involved in complex tasks which are highly context-dependent, skills are much more specific to particular situations and organizational fields. Here industry knowledge and personal networks are often crucial to effective management and skills are often not readily transferable"* Whitley (1989, personal comment to Pollitt.)

Pollitt developed his own arguments in polemical fashion by drawing out the essential neo-Taylorian and remarkable qualities of the managerial incursion and its inappropriateness for much of public service. Pollitt did, however, acknowledge the inevitability of the arrival of new managerialism although clearly he has reservations about some of its scientific connections. Pollitt's simple view of the reason for its arrival is, however, a salutary lesson in acuity and brevity. He concludes that, faced with successive service failures (real or perceived), by the end of the 1970's *"the only remaining political option, therefore, is to improve the productivity of these services, so that their quality can be maintained or even increased while the total resources devoted to them is held down. Hence the popularity of management solutions to what were previously conceived of as political problems"* Pollitt (1993, p48).

The new right attitude to professionals in Local Government is summed up by Pollitt as follows: *"Lack of management control over service deliverers was a long-standing problem in many public services"* Pollitt (1993, p47) and, talking about the quality and cost of services *"thus a public service bureaucracy dominated by a profession or set of professions was a double evil – a budget maximising monopolist that was likely to be both unnecessarily costly and deeply inadequate"* Pollitt (1993, p47).

So, through what Pollitt describes as an incoherent philosophy *"linking particular trends in public opinion with a pot pourri of academic theorizing drawn from the works of monetarist and Austrian economists (Hayek!?), public choice theorists and others"* Pollitt (1993, p45), an approach to the seemingly under delivering public service sector based on the need for managerialism to triumph. This suggested a packaged approach to the seemingly under

delivering public services, whose success depended (in part at least) for a victory of managerialism over professionalism.

Thus, it is therefore arguable that issues of growth, contraction and privatisation are more likely to distil down into a primordial ideological soup, where the issues remain the same, the proportion of public sector spending is more or less the same and where the single biggest variable ingredient is how to translate political/public aspirations into action. However, it is also arguable that a lack of vision or understanding by professionals of their wider environment will necessarily make it more difficult to translate effectively.

Respect and Denigration

Ask most professionals in Local Government (or elsewhere for that matter) and a view will be expressed that respect – of clients/of the public - is not what it was. That this statement is based on a less than academically rigorous approach is evident. However, there is a trend of evidence that suggests it must be so. The first trend revolves around the reduction in trust accorded professionals. This is evidenced by the proliferation of Management Consultants engaged to provide a fresh perspective which covers more than an issue of a prophet not being recognised in his own land according to observers including Stewart, Clarke, Stoker and others.

At one level this developing mistrust is a product of the reduction in mystery and a dissemination of esoteric knowledge to the public (Abbott 1981). At another level, and also referred to by Abbott, is the propensity of professionals to withdraw from areas of knowledge within which trust is assured and to engage in intra-professionally respected areas of knowledge which the public cannot admire or relate to. The example he quotes involves the medical profession denigrating its own front-line practitioners whilst according enormous respect to ivory tower 'political doctors' of the American Medical Association. It is equally applicable to practising Architects, Engineers and Surveyors in Local Government where, for example, a committee role in the Society of Chief Architects in Local Authorities (SCALA) or position of authority in the County Surveyors Society (CSS) is seen by professionals to be important but is largely unrecognised outside the professions. In a sense it can be seen as trading status (outside the profession) for power within it.

From another (and perhaps anthropological) aspect, and building on Douglas's (1970) distillation, it is in many respects an extension of a cultural system to achieve purity and in

this case professional purity. This may be because as knowledge is refined within the profession (and by definition away from contact with, say, an impure public) it passes up the professional hierarchy. This is the power structure of the profession but, of course, this necessarily means debate and determination may be many steps removed from the public and the public may not view their involvement as contamination and, on balance, likely prefer an impure (and more human) professional face.

The status of professionals in the minds of the public has been subject to considerable early investigation by Inkeles and Rossi (1956); Gusfield and Schwartz (1963); Hodge, Siegel and Rossi (1966); Hodge, Treiman and Rossi (1966); Laumann (1966) and Marsh (1977) and, surprisingly given that this period seems to coincide with the zenith of professional authority, where all data on occupational prestige confirms high public status, Abbott (1981).

Abbott, in analysing the sources of declining professional status, dismissed power as 'least relevant' on the basis that scientists, dentists and churchmen enjoy status but have little power. This general perceived decline in professional status also seems to have reduced the importance of income (or identified a long held misconception) insofar as differing professions (eg lawyers and clerics) or sub-specialities of the same professions (eg A & E junior doctors and ENT Consultants) enjoy status/income mismatches. Education, however, (Abbott concludes) is the strongest determiner of status and this seems to be accepted by most commentators in a general sense (Larson (1977) and others). But, drawing on Shils (1965), Abbott concluded that it is the application of knowledge that accords status rather than the possession of knowledge itself. This is borne out by the seemingly and immediate loss of status which occurs to professionals upon retirement. It also accounts for the enhanced status of professionals who work (or show their knowledge) in public gaze: the 'mystery' displayed.

Sadly for professionals, and unlike magicians, there seems to be a pre-disposition to show how this knowledge works (the tricks of the trade) which, if true, must contribute to a removal of 'mystery' and diminution of status. A view of the dilemma facing professionals is provided by Schon, who described a hierarchy of knowledge: Basic Science, Applied Science and the Technical Skills of Day to Day Practice, where: *"the greater one's proximity to basic science, as a rule, the higher one's academic status. General, theoretical, propositional knowledge enjoys a privileged position"* Schon (1987, p9).

Paradoxically, whilst this explains the (so called) minor professions aspiration to academic and intellectual recognition, it sits uncomfortably with the public's review of professional's value which is, more often than not, determined by day to day practice and competence. This public appreciation of professionals could be, of course, as much about the relevance to and understanding of the public's needs and aspirations by 'coalface' professionals. This public reaction against professional society is described by Perkin (1989 p472) as "*a reaction against the power, privileges and pretentious of the special interest groups of all kinds, but especially against the organised professions.*" He added, somewhat portentously that: "*The state supported professions, including the Civil Service, the university academics, school teachers and social workers, came in for particular attack, since they came to be seen as unproductive occupations, parasitic upon the wealth-creating private sector*" Perkin (1989, p473).

The second trend described by Perkin (under a chapter entitled "*The Backlash Against Professional Society*" (leaving the reader blissfully unconfused as to the thrust of the argument) talks about "*the reaction against the seemingly unstoppable growth of big government*" Perkin (1989, p473). Interestingly, this trend is also picked up by Galbraith (1992) as he provides an analysis of the then current United States economic situation. Galbraith described a general trend to short term decisions based on immediate financial advantage and an atmosphere of denigration of the public sector as a financial burden on the community at large. He writes that "*no political avowal of modern times has been so often reiterated and so warmly applauded as the need to get government off the backs of the people*". Galbraith (1992, p22). The proposition being that the 'contented' majority, who generally have less need of public services, resent expenditure on the minority who do. Paul Cook suggests that there are parallels in the United Kingdom, not least because Galbraith draws on the Poll Tax as an example to reinforce his argument. Cook suggests that "*being in less need of services such as municipal housing and social work, the contended majority is increasingly loath to pay their cost for others to use them. It does seem – if it is accepted that a culture of contentment exists – that Local Authorities with powers of taxation, providing services to the less affluent are likely to be held in low esteem*" Local Government Chronicle (Sept 1992). The implication for professionals working in Local Government is clear.

Perkin also identified a final trend, a trend which relies on the public perceiving that the corporate state is not only a product of a professional society, but is inspired by it. Moreover, that this professionally inspired corporate state, with its 'unsleeping veto groups' pursuing their special interests directly into government, failed. Failed in the sense that it did not adjust to the new economic realities of the 1970's. Perkins view that "*the backlash against*

individual professions, especially those employed by the State, began to emerge with the second wave of the backlash, the attack on Government welfare in general..." Perkin (1989, p483), probably sums up his view of the position and resonates with a general erosion of respect for professionals. Whilst Perkin's argument reminds us of Titmuss's (1960) haranguing of self interested professional lobby groups, it does, however, have coherence when considered against the simplistic condemnation of the runaway welfare state and profligate nationalised industries, which assisted the Thatcher government into power in 1979 and which pitted public sector professionals defending the status quo against private sector professionals championing the new order.

Advisors and Rationers

It could be argued that whilst Local Government contemplated year-on-year growth, then Mannheim's (1936) classical dual concepts of "*Ideology and Utopia*" could achieve some form of dynamic balance. However, Udehn's (1996) view that Mannheim's Ideology was a doctrine in defence of the status quo and Utopia is a good society envisioned is clearly a description of concepts at odds with one another. This position is supported by Mannheim's view that Ideology is in the interest of those who rule and Utopia is that state of grace aspired to by the ruled. Perhaps some form of dynamic balance could be achieved if the aspirations of the ruled could be assuaged whilst not compromising the authority of the rulers. Assisting in preserving this balance is the concept of growth, particularly if it is accepted that public choice assumes some element of self-interest and if the 'realistic' political theorists from Machiavelli, through Hobbes, Marx, Weber, Pareto and others have it right about human nature and politics. Could it be that it is this move from growth to contraction, which has removed the win-win ruled/rulers pact and caused a reworking of professionals' roles to manage tension at the nexus? The move from facilitator to gatekeeper. The shift from advisor to rationer.

Reed (1996) drew on Larson (1977), Abbott (1988) and Drazin (1990) to justify his description of the mobilisation of expert power to establish a viable socio-organisational aspirational base in a competitive environment from which to develop social and cultural authority. Although written in the context of a global shift in relationships, it nonetheless has relevance for professionals in Local Government who are coming to terms with emerging roles of rationer and administrators of the processes of rationing – a new form of 'mystery' and a powerful example of expert authority.

What Giddens (1994) described as the institutionalisation of the fabric of society and Foucault (1991) revisited as monitoring and correcting, Crompton (1992) saw as an insinuation of expert groups into key roles in political economies. Each describes an essentially different, but essentially powerful, exercise of expert authority. What makes it different is the retreat from the proffering of advice and the advance into areas of direct action to both control and mystify the process of resource allocation. This difficulty is enhanced by the Stewart and Walsh (1992) view of the inadequacy of consumer language, where professionals are encouraged to view the public as customers, when in reality the relationship is just as likely to be about inspection and control and when services are free at the point of delivery, more about rationing.

Hand in hand with professionalism's advance into an expert rationing role we have seen the development of the concept of empowerment. However, as Skelcher (1993) pointed out, empowerment is a reflection of the awareness of the differences in relative power of and between users and providers and is more likely to find focus in involvement and consultation, rather than through the exercise of real choice. Skelcher acknowledged local public service organisations have access to bureaucratic and professional power, in addition to power derived from political, statutory and financial sources and, because of this power, public service organisations can decide the agendas and ground rules for any change in relationships. One important facet of this power is the definition and specification of service policies, levels of resources allocated and priorities, together with determination of degree of consumer choice. This is the homeland of the professional rationer. Where process and standardisation can disempower rather than empower.

What does seem clear, however, is that whilst the power of the professional, as rationer, is both real and important, it is not the sort of professional power envisaged by Goode (1969), Larson (1977), Oppenheimer (1973), Freidson and others. This is exemplified by Hall's (1969) suggestion that attitudinal autonomy is crucial to a perception of professional power, "*since the individual reacts to his perception of the situation and his attitude reflects the manner in which he perceives his work*" Hall (1969, p81), and underlined by Forsyth and Danisiewicz's (1985) view that it is not sufficient to exhibit high level autonomy from clients', but it is also necessary to secure autonomy from employing organisations.

Clearly in Local Government rationing, once the professional advice is sought, weighed and evaluated, then politics and consensus and a view of overall priorities (not forgetting priorities of central government) will determine approach and regime. In this environment

attitudinal autonomy can be limited and autonomy from the employing organisation may not be a tenable position for the professional as rationer. There is also an issue concerning the replacement of one set of processes by another. If our professionals are simply transferring their attention from one segment of activity to another, their overall vision, understanding and degree of appreciation of the total environment will not be improved.

Schon's point that *"in spite of all these different emphases, public, radical and professional critics voice a common complaint : that the most important areas of professional practice now lie beyond the conventional boundaries of professional competence"* Schon (1987, p7), remains both apposite and relevant today and it is the issue of relevance of the professions to early 21st Century Local Government, coupled to a sense of lost purpose flowing from challenges to core tenets of autonomy and independence, which sees professionals and professionalism weakened in influence.

This, when linked to a loss of respect accorded to professionals by society at large, creates an apologist atmosphere and seems to be evidenced by what could be described as a loss of self-confidence by professionals as individuals and by their professional bodies. This is evidenced, in part, by the reorganisation proposal brought forward by the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors in February 2000. According to the editor of Chartered Surveyor Monthly (the Institution's in-house magazine), Members have two basic demands of the Institution: *"higher status and relevant services and support"*. The Institution's response begins with a Promotional Strategy, recognising that *"at the top of members' wish lists for a new look Institution comes promotion, both of the profession and of individual specialisms. Membership will become a matter of pride and aid Member's own marketing of themselves and their organisations; it will raise the status of the profession"*.

This Chapter draws to a close with a clear recognition by a major profession that all is not as it should be for its Members and we begin to look forward to the next Chapter, where we see or discuss whether there is an inheritor of the status and position lost to professionals. Also, and significantly, we can begin to see relationships and overlaps beginning to be exposed which strengthen rather than weaken the triangulated focus of the literature research, since the triangulation is about deriving a common position on a particular issue or question. We can see these relationships and overlaps emerging as issues of power and influence flow from the research around rationing and rationalities.

CHAPTER 3 - THE CONTEXT OF MANAGERIALISM

The Gathering Storm

It seems appropriate to use a Churchillian title to introduce the second part of the literature research trilogy, since the aims and objectives of this part of the developing thesis necessarily envisage invasion and conflict. Invasion in a sense that we see managerialism (and managers) moving into organisational territory nurtured by professionalism and occupied by professionals. Conflict, because the occupier of valued and valuable territory will defend it vigorously. As always the appropriateness of available weaponry is a most relevant consideration, as is the climate enveloping the battlefield described in the following Chapter.

The first part of this Chapter, however, looks at the protagonists. It briefly considers the rise of managerialism and moves quickly into a discussion of managerialism and professionalism in the context of science versus art.

The difficulties of managing in the not-for-profit sector is necessarily examined next, prior to moving on to an audit of the characteristics of managerialism and professionalism in the context of ideologies. In some ways this can be seen as a review of the integrity of the beliefs of the protagonists. In other ways this audit can be viewed as an assessment of the credentials of the usurper (manager) to assume the mantle of the incumbent professional.

This Chapter concludes with a commentary on the issue of dominance, since the concept of an idea finding its time enjoys a certain resonance with the theme.

The Rise of Managerialism

If the Reorganisation of 1974 was a watershed for Local Government, then it is perhaps worthwhile pausing at outset to consider what the protagonists of management and a managerial approach were saying at the time. Bains, reporting in 1972 drew heavily on the language of management to describe appropriate and relevant ways of working for the new local authorities. Important though this use of new language is, it is perhaps more significant by virtue of its move away from the traditional language of administration and professionalism. This sea change in approach is echoed by Keeling, also writing in 1972, about the Civil Service. Not only did Keeling draw clear distinctions between administration and management, but interestingly he saw management as the new force growing in status as response to change becomes more important.

This conversion to managerialism by Government could be seen as a reaction to changes contemplated by Government, or changes already in train. Perhaps, however, they should be seen as a reflection of a general raising of pressure on the barometer of managerial awareness. There is no doubt that the wise men of management, writing in the 1970's, detected a growing enhancement of the status of management. Drucker (1974) credits managers with heavy responsibility for the future social well-being of society. Adair (1973) talked of management in terms of the obligation and responsibility of leadership, and Ansoff (1974) looked ahead to a golden future for disciplined management. Chandler (1977), set down his view of the importance of management in combative style but Mintzberg set down his contributions from an organisational and structure perspective, first in 1979 and later in 1983. Managerialism (as it was to come to be called) was firmly on the agenda. The effects of this managerial approach to local government services has been the subject of much discussion subsequently.

Managerialism and Professionalism - Art or Science?

The thought that produces the question here flows from musings on certain aspects of managerialism and professionalism. The first poses a question about styles and attitudes. Is it possible to see distinct styles and attitudes emphasising any differences between managerial and professional staff? The second raises an issue about differences between professionals as managers. For despite the proliferation of Business Schools and the growth of management as a perceived skill in its own right, the vast majority of today's senior managers saw their careers founded in one form of professional discipline or another.

Taking the National Health Service as an out-of-subject example, where tensions are clear and distinctions pronounced, it is possible to tease out an argument to put flesh on the issues. The dominant profession in NHS management remains accountancy, perhaps in response to the dominant managerial issue which remains shortage of cash. The management tool box used to address key issues has a first drawer comprising a range of unsubtle but effective financial budgetary control mechanisms. This creates friction with the medical profession which draws down a series of morality based social arguments to sustain its position and to justify demands for more resources. As pressures rise, so financial weapons are wielded, with less sensitivity and professional claims to the moral high ground gain in stridency. Perkin's comment that "*the condescension of professionalism and the mutual disdain many professions felt for one another, all suggest that a reaction against the professions of professionalism was sooner or later inevitable*" Perkin (1989,

p475) is given a powerful boost to credibility when natural disdain is overlaid with the competitive opportunity for territorial gain.

In a sense, this polarisation of attitude is a product of a balance of power between rival demands for scarce resources - a result of rationing. It also provides an illustration of the use of professional skills, in this case financial, used in a managerial context, to deny another professional group, the medics, the right to determine allocation of resources within the NHS and to dilute professional influence in determining the size of the NHS slice of the national resource cake. This contrasts in many ways with Social Services Departments in local government, whose management teams largely comprise professional social workers turned managers and whose professional voice is united in highlighting the need for more resources. This cohesive and professional approach sees itself thinly cloaked in managerial justification. The contrast fades, however, when the professionally united Social Services cry for special consideration is heard at Policy level in the Local Authority and the nominated custodians of sound finances and reason - the accountants - use the same tool kit to expose the true nature of the argument under the cloak.

If the science of management triumphs over the art of the profession in the first round of this contest, then it will be sorely tested by the art of the politician in the next. For in the example above it will be necessary for NHS and Social Services to agree policies, programmes and priorities and allocation of resources for shared areas of responsibility. And whilst initial skirmishing will witness deployment of a similar range of financial arguments, resolution will be by politician - with a distinctly non-scientific approach based on compromise rather than on cold logic. A different sort of rationality. A form of rationality which examines issues in the round and in a wider context. Flynn (1997), in introducing his arguments and writing with a degree of post-Thatcherite cynicism, describes *"The distinction between a manager and a professional has been promoted by those who believe in management and by the professionals who like to remain different"*. Whilst this may be true, it does not explain another distinction between those professionals in managerial positions who see themselves as managers, and those who see management as an extension of their profession. Unless, that is, the cynicism extends to a professional who accepts a managerial position, but refuses to accept it's anything other than attitude-as-usual: *"Many key professionals are seeking legitimacy not from the electoral process, but from their ability to fit in with the latest management language"* Cochrane (1993, p106).

Managerialism and the Not-For-Profit Sector

Drucker (1990), writing about the differences between businesses and not-for-profit organisations, saw some key factors. He identified performance as perhaps the most important of these factors, since in a not-for-profit organisation there is no bottom line. Although it is acknowledged by Drucker that businesses which concentrate solely on financial issues do not have a long term future, he does make the important point that bottom line issues provide a reference point, a source of focus and an easily measurable means of measuring performance. This poses an interesting challenge for managerialism in local government. Firstly, because many areas of local government remain insulated from bottom line issues. Secondly, because this has implications for those areas of local government which are focused on a financial bottom line. Thirdly, because this highlights the potential for tensions between the two.

Drucker also cites the number of relationships as a basic difference "in all but the very biggest businesses, the key relationships are few - employees, customers and owners - and that's it. Every non-profit organisation has a multitude of constituencies and has to work out relationships with each of them" Drucker (1990, p157). This point is echoed by Bryson who builds on earlier work on public sector strategic planning by Bryson and Roering (1987): *"The public sector is not as simple as the private sector - there are typically many 'bottom lines'. Many community based non-profit organisations, as well as those that rely on government funding, have very diverse and complex constituencies"* Bryson (1995, pp9-20).

This suggests a level of sophistication in local government which may present some unique challenges to the adoption by it of a managerialist approach to the ordering of its affairs. This sophistication also suggests a level of complexity around contextual issues of an order of magnitude much greater than that obvious in most businesses. Gray (1989) talked about a new dilemma is concerned to emphasise the contrast between the Hobbesian state and the economically powerful modern asset owning state. Gray saw this distinction at its clearest in the willingness and motivation of the modern state to intervene and to look after private interests rather than maintain the common good. Whilst it may be true that the very existence of substantial state power and patronage encourages private concerns to seek influence with government, it is doubtful whether this is a view of the state with which its servants would agree. Moreover in the *"Best Value"* climate of the late 1990's where is the influence of the end user or the receiver of goods and services. Are we not seeing a transfer

of influence from those who seek to serve the public from a position of disciplined common good to a position of serving the public through the rational harnessing of market forces.

The issues for professionals, who guided by their professional bodies, tend to prefer to see themselves at the common good end of spectrum with market forces (and the lucrative fees which come part and parcel) as a necessary evil to be tolerated rather than embraced. It is, however, the not-for-profit element of the vestigial common good Hobbesian state which provides a source of tension between professionalism and managerialism - particularly where professionals see themselves as the custodians of the common good and classical defenders of the common good against the dark forces of the market place and the power of cash.

Interestingly, the gradual shift in emphasis in senior management in Local Government which has seen an increase in the status of accountancy (finance) professionals in hierarchies has mirrored the increase in influence of managerialism - perhaps, since control of cash in the simplest and easiest understood managerial tool of trade. It is, perhaps, significant that, even in today's increasingly enlightened catholic professional environment, money and managerialism are still seen as closely linked. The Open University Business School, for example, described the following: *"In the short history of our MBA programme almost two thousand qualified members of professional institutions have enrolled..... More than one third are from accountancy, banking and finance sectors"* OU (1998) publicity leaflet.

Interestingly, the rise in power of the accountancy professional may be more about the understanding of the financial perspective, which is less about design and more about coincidence and an improved vision and understanding of context which comes part and parcel. However, whilst the financial professions are seen, and probably see themselves, as being in the vanguard of the move towards a managerial approach (both particularly and generally) there is an obvious distinction between focus in the not-for-profit/Local Government environment and the quest-for-profit private sector. This distinction is in sharpest focus when the imperatives of budgetary control are contrasted with the imperatives of selling as much as you can produce. It is of course fair to say that both private and public concerns are driven to pursue efficiency and that inputs, at least, for both are measured in cash terms. However, Simon's (1957 p175) assertion that *"the criterion of efficiency cannot be applied to decisions in government agencies without consideration of the*

economic effects that the activities of these agencies may have", would have its supporters today.

Stewart and Ranson (1988) saw a distinctive approach to management in the public domain arguing that the private sector model is inadequate and not transferable. This argument is persuasively developed and begins with the devaluing of 'Strategic Management' in the public sector context on the basis that 'competitive stance' has no meaning when values are determined through a political process. Marketing is similarly discussed and, whilst the authors accept the value of the stimulus of seeing end users as customers, 'consumerism' is no guarantee that the publics (in the plural) interest are best served in the round. The final nails in the coffin of the principle of transferable managerialism into the public sector may be hammered home by the authors by exposing the differences in budgetary process, accountability, politics and public demands and pressure and protest between the private the public sectors.

Vignette 10

A Procedure for Everything - This Vignette provides an extreme example of probity differences between private and not for profit sectors in addition to illustrating the disposition to create systems to deal with every eventuality

Working with the private sector, it seems, can bring a number of unforeseen problems.

One Local Authority was bemused to receive fee invoices from a private practice under a series of different business names.

Enquiries revealed no satisfactory explanation, save insofar as one of the partners was currently engaged in a long running matrimonial dispute and there was a suggestion that this may have a bearing on the matter.

My contact, who prides herself on an ability to 'think things through', struggled to come to terms with the lack of provision in the arrangements to deal with this. And, moreover, is contemplating a clause to address the issue in future documentation.

Intriguingly the authors went on to describe new approaches to management in an attempt to translate those parts of managerialism which are appropriate and, with the possible exception of a section on the budgetary process, talk more in terms of 'challenge', 'debate' and 'dilemma'. These are contextual issues. For example, exhortations for organisations to reinvent themselves by focusing on customers: Osborne and Gaebler (1992), Barzelay (1992), Gore (1993), Thompson and Jones (1994); reengineering (of operations) to focus on

customers: Hammer and Champy (1993) and Total Quality Management in pursuit of Total Customer Satisfaction: Cohen and Brand (1993); Schenkat (1993), may result in not-for-profit organisations missing some key players.

Bryson (1995) talked about the danger of overlooking important stakeholders and moved onto describe stakeholders whose interests may be in the organisation and/or its outputs. So, whilst it is useful to explore managerialism and its appropriateness in the not-for-profit sector in the context of inputs, with the resulting emphasis on finance and budgetary pressures, it may be beneficial to look at the other end of the spectrum and explore outputs.

Schon (1987) saw problem framing as a particular issue. He argued that professionals will draw on a body of technical knowledge to address problems but, crucially, professionals, managers and politicians may define the problem differently. Schon's argument can be illustrated by reference to an Elderly Persons Home, where the Architect sees the problem in terms of spacial relationships, the manager in the context of market penetration, the accountant in terms of occupancy rates and the politician as a balance between this issue and a host of others.

Kanter and Summers (1987) recognised the problems associated with measuring performance in not-for-profit organisations. Indeed before outlining their argument for the need for a multiple-constituency approach the authors feel constrained to emphasise the stark contrast between the not-for-profit sector and business by supplying the following introductory quotation: "*We know for instance that we have to measure results. We also know that with the exception of business, we do not know how to measure results in most organisations*" Drucker (1968, Introduction).

Later, Drucker expands his argument in a chapter headed "*the Sickness of Government*" by describing government agencies as not fitted for achieving results: "*They (Government agencies) are not focussed on doing. They are not equipped for it. They are not fundamentally concerned with it*" Drucker (1968, p218). Clearly Kanter and Summers feel that little progress has been made in the two decades since Drucker put pen to paper. It is doubtful whether more progress has been made in the decade since Kanter and Summers wrote. In some ways this lack of progress is in itself significant. There may be irreconcilable issues. The dilemma identified by can be summarised by two early statements. The first going to the heart of managerialist principles: "*An important part of the strategic management process is assessing performance.*"

Managers, employees and others need to gauge whether an organisation is doing well or poorly with respect to its standards for performance" Kanter and Summers (1987, p220). The second exposes the nature of the tension "but the 'test' in non-profits is different : these organisations have defined themselves not around their financial returns but around their mission, or the services they offer. And services, of course, are notoriously intangible and difficult to measure" Kanter and Summers (1987, p220).

It is perhaps about values and lack of freedom to exit work areas. It is also about the lack of a clear purpose in a financial context, the bottom line. Kirchoff's (1977) early view of the balanced scorecard is hardly a substitute for earnings per share and Pennings and Goodman's (1977) stab at a definition of organisational effectiveness falls short of explaining how these goals are to be defined - nor is it an effective substitute for rate of return on capital employed. Identifying goals is, however, a challenge, since the absence of clear direction (or the existence of many directions) leads to the establishment of false goals. Such as lowest floor/wall ratios (in the case of buildings), or number of works orders issued (contract work), or bed space occupancy (in elderly persons homes). This approach tends to focus attention on achievement at a process level and as a result bureaucratises the mission. Whether this is better or worse than the social science writers who seem to delight in arguing that because it's complex and difficult it's not worth doing/impossible to do, remains a subject for debate. Moreover, even if goals were identified, defined and agreed, it could be that attainment was not possible. Whilst the resource bottlenecks and organisational bottlenecks identified by Galbraith (1977) are tactical issues which should be within the control of the organisation, the theoretical bottleneck may remain if people do not have the faintest idea how to deal with the issue in the first place.

Managerialism and Professionalism - Conflicting Ideologies?

Pollitt (1990) introduced his discourse on managerialism by discussing managerialism as an ideology. Pollitt drew on Hartley's (1983) definition, presumably because it offers a disciplined five point framework and because, as Pollitt says, alternative definitions can tend to the political or partisan, or subjective or false.

Interestingly, Pollitt felt the need to interpret the definition (or "unravel its meaning in slightly more concrete terms") to illustrate the links. Whether this indicates a difficulty with the link or the better to draw the connection is a moot point, however what is clear is

the link is solid enough to see whether the same interpretation and rationale can be transplanted into a discussion of professionalism.

Is professionalism an ideology in the same way as management is an ideology (after Pollitt/Hartley). What are the similarities? What are the contrasts and, importantly, are there areas of tension from an ideological standpoint? Taking Hartley's five part definition in turn, the first characteristic of an ideology is "*that it consists of values and beliefs or ideas about the state of the world and what it should be*" Hartley (1983, p26).

Pollitt had no difficulty in finding managerial values - "it is not only important, it is also good. Better management will make institutions perform, provide the key to national survival.....". Pollitt (1990, p7) In many ways this echoes the claims for management by its gurus and proponents. Pollitt moves on to translate those managerial values into ideas and beliefs in terms of how the world, as Hartley suggests, should be: "*Evidently, the world should be a place where objectives are clear, where staff are motivated to achieve them, where close attention is given to monetary costs, where bureaucracy and red tape are eliminated. If one asks how this is to be achieved the managerialist answer is, overwhelmingly, through the introduction of good management practices, which are assumed to be at the highest pitch and most widely distributed in the private sector*" Pollitt (1990, p7).

Interestingly, Pollitt introduces the issue of assumptions about differences in overall managerial competence between the public and private sectors. Consideration of this point is relevant to this Thesis. But, what of professionalism in the context of values, ideas and beliefs? Is there a professional vision of the world as it should be? In truth it is not necessary to look far. Although it is helpful to delve into history. In it's Royal Charter, granted in 1837, the purposes of the Royal Institute of British Architects were "*the general advancement of Civil Architecture and for promoting and facilitating the acquirement of the knowledge of the various Arts and Sciences connected therewith; it being an art esteemed and encouraged in all enlightened nations, as tending greatly to promote the domestic convenience of citizens, and the public improvement and embellishment of towns and cities.*" So, evidently the world should be a place where its built environment is of the highest quality, so as to contribute to the general improvement in amenity for its citizens. All Royal Charters of Professions express aims and objectives in a visionary fashion, seeing a unique contribution to the ongoing improvement of society in the context of the exercise of a particular range of skills.

Hartley's second characteristic "*that these cognitive and affective elements form a framework. In other words, ideology is not simply a summation of a set of attitudes, but consists of some kind of relatively systematic structuring*", is tackled straightforwardly by Pollitt in the context of managerialism, Hartley (1983, pp26-27).

Pollitt clearly sees a structured and systematic set of beliefs. He goes on to suggest that not only have these beliefs been reinforced by the success of the corporate sector, but that managerialism has contributed to the denigration of the public sector through contrasted performance. However, professionalism has an arguably stronger (and certainly longer) claim to a structured and systematic set of beliefs and local government, as a major employer of structured professionals, is a clear exemplar of a Professional Bureaucracy, according to Mintzberg's (1983) definition. So, is it a true contrast of performance? Or is it a conflict of ideologies, where advantage is sought by seeking public support for a series of outputs or indicators which favour one ideology over another?

Wilensky (1964) writing on professionals, described the link between a profession and its work as "*jurisdiction*" and saw professions aiming for a legally founded control over its core activities. This points to a need for professionals to define the boundaries between professions; to divide up the professional market so as to speak; which division and delineation is given credibility by virtue of Royal Charter.

Herein may lie a source of tension, for we see professions emerge, or as Wilensky had it, passing through a series of evolutionary "*events*", as it stakes out its claim to a piece of intellectual territory. The tensions between professions are regulated to a mixture of gentlemen's agreements and Royal Charters. The tensions between this discipline of professionalism and the emerging discipline of managerialism has no mechanism to resolve tension - and nor can it have. It can not have a mechanism because of the basic conflict which must exist between the two. Professionalism sees itself improving the lot of citizens by constructing building blocks of excellence based on individual skill and experience in narrow fields of expertise. An evolutionary and piecemeal growth to contentment. Managerialism, however, sees an all-embracing race to nirvana on the back of a consistent and overarching set of beliefs based on progress through better management.

Hartley's third characteristic saw ideologies in terms of "*social groups or social arrangements*" Hartley (1983, p27). Here Pollitt is perhaps less convincing in pinning this characteristic on managerialism. He drew on a number of sources to illustrate managerial

'heroes' and seemed to rely on the existence of organised 'social' opposition, such as Trades Unions (and professionals?) to support his argument. If managerialism less convincingly passes this test of definition, surely professionalism passes with consummate ease. Taking the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors as an example, we can see a network of branches covering the country on a geographic basis, with branch officers - Chairman, Secretary and so forth. This branch structure is meshed in with a divisional arrangement to enable the sub-professions to enjoy a discrete relationship. A Junior Organisation is focused on professional development and social events. The links into government and industry tend to occur at a national level through headquarters in London with links with other professions strongest at a local, or branch, level.

Vignette 11

Rituals and Insults - This Vignette exemplifies the social bonding and group behaviour of professionals

Attendees at a recent course on contract arbitration comprised lawyers, engineers and surveyors, with a smattering of architectural luminaries led by Rod Hackney, the Prince of Wales' favourite.

Aside from its educational content, the course was dominated by two rituals.

The first, mobile 'phones. Each break saw suited professionals walking in discrete circles on the extensive lawns, 'phones grasped firmly, shouting into space. This choreographed pantomime, on resumption of business, was followed by interruptions to the proceedings as 'Scotland the Brave', Ode to Joy', and so forth, broke forth at intervals, prompting vigorous patting of pockets searching for the unneutralised 'phone.

The second was the similarly ritualised insulting of each profession by the course tutors - themselves drawn from the ranks of the professions represented on the course.

Architects were characterised as unworldly and extravagant prima donnas. Quantity Surveyors as unimaginative and boring and only one step removed from Accountants (who, it seems, are beyond the pale). Lawyers as pack hunting pariahs with penchant for fees beyond reason, and so forth.

Each aside brought forward smiles, knowing nods and elbowing of neighbours. The biggest laugh of the day being reserved for some General Practice Surveyors who, on being described as 'rent boys', reacted with theatrical gestures appropriate to the accusation.

Interestingly, the socialising links into other professions are reinforced through reciprocal attendance at a range of events which both reinforce the difference between the professions and cement the symbiotic relationship necessary to harmonic development of professionalism generally. That said, if professionalism has a greater claim to characterise

an ideology than managerialism under this heading, what does that say about the nature of the tension between the two. Are we dealing with an aspirant ideology and a complacent ideology? We are, perhaps, talking about managerialism in the context of a theme or framework providing professionalism with an outward and strategic focus for its contribution to the best use of scarce resources. This could answer the first question, in the sense that the issue may not be one of mutual ideological exclusivity, but rather that of ideological maturity. However, that conclusion does ignore the obvious tension which exists when comparing a professionals dedication to 'getting it right' - when 'right' is often a professional definition rather than being market derived and the managerial view which can suggest a Paretoid approach, when 80 percent can represent sufficiency.

As with the previous characteristic, Hartley's fourth also concerns social groups. This time in the form of an ideology "*developed and maintained by social groups a socially derived link between the individual and the groups....*" Hartley (1983, p27). If Pollitt was unconvincing in linking managerialism to a social group or arrangement, he is unlikely to effectively reinforce this link in the context of development and maintenance. Indeed, drawing on Perrow (1979) to support his contention possibly ignores the possibility that Perrow's "ideology" had more to do with the value of co-ordination and the exercise of power.

Thus, managerialism's claim to be an ideology is further weakened, which readjusts the ideological relationship between managerialism and professionalism, whose claim is relatively strengthened. As witnessed by the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors example cited earlier, there is a strong social bond operating in professional bodies. Curiously this bonding tends to be horizontal, across the organisations, rather than vertical or hierarchical. The loyalty (which is perhaps the other way of describing social links) tends to be between colleague professionals rather than to the organisational hierarchy. What this creates, however, is a powerful professional two-way glue, with professional's social loyalties binding the organisation laterally and the financial 'loyalty' of accreditation/licence to practice in exchange for subscriptions binding it hierarchically.

Hartley's final test revolves around the contention that ideology '*provides a justification for behaviour*' Hartley (1983, p27). Pollitt said that this is not so simple as it seems and he may well be right. However, his support of managerialism's claim to ideological status is well made. Interestingly his discussion of the successful application of generic management skills as part of his justification opens up another avenue for exploration. Is it not the

professional, protected by a robust and solid ideology, developed over time and nurtured by self interest, the main opponent of generic management as a concept?

In tentatively reaching for a conclusion about ideological differences the researcher is drawn to consider issues of maturity and vision. Maturity, in the sense of a journey. For, if the professional journey ends in specialism, narrow focus, precision and a concentration on process, it is unlikely to develop the maturity to accept the value and contribution of imprecise generalists. Vision, in the sense of awareness. For, if professionals struggle to come to terms with the need to see their contribution in context, then they will find it difficult to subordinate their efforts to a managed and overarching theme. Ultimately, therefore, it would be an issue of individual development and perhaps competencies, where technical competence can only carry an individual Architect, Engineer or Surveyor so far without the gift of the understanding of context.

The Dominant Idea?

If it is accepted, in part at least, that managerialism and professionalism are ideologies in tension, then this raises issues of dominance. Dominance in the sense that there are significant areas in which the ideologies diverge and this necessarily means that choices are made. Given the nature of ideology - visionary and tending to emotion rather than logic - choices are more likely to be seen in the context of winners and losers. In some ways it is an arts -v- science issue, where the arts of judgement and professional standards interpreted in an environment of mystery, conflict with the science of measurement of performance against pre-determined yardsticks executed in transparent environment.

That professionalism is subject to challenge is not denied. Stewart & Ranson (1988), Laffing & Young (1990), Kingdom (1991), Gyford (1993), Pollitt (1993) and Flynn (1997), all describe the challenge facing professionalism from (the ideology) of managerialism. What seems clear now is that the issues facing Local Government identified by Redcliffe-Maud (1967) remain largely unaddressed, but, the method of resolution espoused by the establishing wisdom of the exponents of managerialism is gaining in focus and clarity and the growing dominance of the managerial ideology will test professionalism and ultimately professionals, since loyalties must be tested as individuals in positions of authority will not normally be able to avoid making a choice.

A clear message from Central Government's exhortations to Local Government to adopt Best Value is a restatement of a long expressed wish for Local Government to adopt a managerial approach to its work. Blair (1998) talks about setting targets, the need for clarity, the failure of 'we know best approaches' and, above all, the failure to be guided by the needs of service users. The language is managerial. The text is wider vision and a range of appropriate solutions. Heseltine's (1980) exhortation to acknowledge efficient management as the key to national revival says much about both the consistency of Central Government's view over time and across political divides.

Gyford (1993) contrasts the managerial decision making process with that of the professional approach and in the process highlights some language issues. Whilst he talks of customers (managerial) and clients (professional) and the difference in evaluation technique between Performance Indicators (managerial) and Standards (professional) the thought provoking differences seem to revolve around the managerial adoption of clarity and measurement set against the professional reliance on mystery and judgement. Thus faced with the challenge to open up and bare all, the professional will necessarily be at a disadvantage when contrasted with manager who majors on clarity and rewarded on achieving measurable targets. The dominant idea, as influenced by both trends and perception, begins to take on the mantle of the exponents of managerialism.

Unless, of course, the professional is prepared to acknowledge that Schon's premise that *"inherent in the practice of professionals we recognise as unusually competent is a core of artistry"* Schon (1987, p13) has relevance and that exceptional professional performance is often described in terms of talent, wisdom and intuition. This is something which perhaps separates the exceptional manager from his or her peers as much as it separates the exceptional professional from his or hers.

Having looked in the previous Chapter at the weakening of influence of professionals and the loss of status enjoyed by their professional bodies, this Chapter is brought to close having identified a potential competitor for the "contested terrain" and a potential competitor claiming to benefit from ideological credentialling and some new answers to old questions. In looking at the issue from what could simplistically be described as from the perspective of the threatened and the threat it is now timely to look at the terrain which is being contested. This could (and also simplistically) be described as the power and influence which results from the possession of the solution to a range of societal problems and the way in which the respective claims of the protagonists are ordered and evaluated. However,

before moving on to the last triangulation point, it is helpful to note the references to power, rationing (resources) and rationality occurring here provide reinforcement to the contention that we are dealing with facets of the same issue.

CHAPTER 4 - A PERSPECTIVE OF POWER

Inspecting the Defences

The fourth Chapter of the Thesis and the final part of the literature research trilogy continues the conflict theme, by examination of the power perspective in the context of a probing of professionalism's defences against the managerialist invader. How strong is the position? How relevant are the weapons? And pivotally, how lies the field of war. This examination of power is also concerned with understanding something of the motivation woven into the issues and conflict metaphors notwithstanding recognises the implicit and explicit inter-relationships.

The examination necessarily starts by reference to the nature of power itself, moving into a discussion focussed on sociological perspectives of the professions. The aim here is to provide both a specific reference point and, perhaps more importantly, to provide a triangulation point to assist distillation of key issues and tensions in pursuit of general development of the thesis. The triangulation is refined further by reference to perspectives of collective knowledge, individual autonomy and influence – or, more specifically, the trends of influence.

The Chapter concludes with a strabismic or tangential glance at the political problems associated with the need to achieve clarity through ambiguity.

The Nature of Power

In the context of this discussion Arendt's thoughts on power have particular resonance: *"Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual, it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together"* Arendt (1970, p44). This definition, on the face of it, conflicts with Weber's (1925) view that power was more about the forcing of individual will upon others. Arendt, on the other hand, saw individual will as relying on the empowerment of the individual by others. *"All political institutions are manifestations and materializations of power"* Arendt (1970, p41).

Interestingly, (and pursuing the argument in a political context), Arendt (1970) developed the consensus view of power by reference to political institutions: *"It is the people's support*

that lends power to the institutions of a country, and this support is but the continuation of the consent that brought the laws into existence to begin with" Arendt (1970, p41). Professional institutions, like political institutions, must be, however, dependant on the will (and power) of people to uphold them. Once that support and deference is removed or diminished then the effective power of the professional body must decay.

Habermas (1986), whilst expressing reservations about the classical Greek derivation of Arendt's definitions, and her retreat to a theoretical natural contract law, seemed to share a common thread: *"No occupant of a position of authority can maintain and exercise power, if these positions are not themselves anchored in laws and political institutions whose continued existence rests ultimately on common convictions"* Habermas, J in Lukes (1986, pp75-93). Parsons (1986) pursued this consensus theme by discussing power in the context of legitimized obligations and collective goals. Also, and significantly Parson's drew the argument along the line of reciprocal commitments and, in the process, veers away from exercise of power through exercise of positive sanction – violence.

Lukes, anxious to tease out the competitive elements of power, answers Lenin's questions *"who, whom?"* in the context of relative scarcity and competing claims by referring to Lenski's view that it is about the *"struggle between individuals and institutions for prestige and privilege"* Lenski, G in Lukes (1986, p12). It is this element of competition which Lukes sees as critical, since he sees complex links between many power questions as necessarily diminishing freedoms of one group in order to benefit another: *"Power needs no justification, being inherent in the very existence of political communities; what it does need is legitimacy"* Arendt (1970, p52).

In examining the role of professionalism by concentrating on organisation power, we need to be mindful that, by implication, the importance of individual power is diminished. It is, however, possible to draw comfort from Galbraith's (1984) customarily direct and unequivocal assertion that the most important source of power in modern societies is organisation. Here, he is clearly drawing on earlier thoughts *"....since the requisite knowledge and intelligence derive in large measure from those whose contributions are brought together and co-ordinated, so in no slight measure does the power in the organisation"* Galbraith (1992, p66).

Vignette 12

Professional Silos - This Vignette shows that professionals may not explicitly use or refer to power issues when expressing their concerns about losing it

There is a serious concern amongst professionally oriented professional Chief Officers in Local Government about the need to maintain a Head of Profession. This is often expressed explicitly when professional hierarchies are threatened by reorganisation and restructuring. The arguments for retaining a professional figurehead tend to fall into two clear areas.

The first argument for maintaining a formal Head of Profession flows from the need to maintain a structure to nurture training – the custodian of professional knowledge – and a source of professional mentoring. This is described by one senior professional as the “uncle role”.

The second argument is based on fear as a defence of professional interest. And, given that elected Members are pivotal to decision making on structures, is most successful in fields of finance (fear of surcharge) and the law (fear of legal action). Interestingly, one senior engineer having lost his argument to identify a strong line of professional accountability, whilst watching a financial colleague triumph in his argument, was quick to point out that “nobody died if the petty cash went missing, but they do if a bridge collapses”.

Galbraith talked about the “*power of three*”. He referred to condign power – the power of penalty or punishment; to compensatory power – the power of reward; and to conditioned power – the power to change belief. In terms of condign and compensatory power, then clearly both professional and managerial organisations have both. However, the value of that power is diminished in some ways because individuals are in most cases aware of it and how it works and can, therefore, take steps in mitigation or militation. In terms of conditioned power, there is consensus and perhaps shared purpose. Also there is an essentially long-term bond between the conditioner and the conditioned. Is this not the strength of professional institutions? It is also perhaps, its weakness. For, as Galbraith pointed out that whilst “*the exercise of conditioned power in the modern state – the persuasion of legislators, public officials, or their constituencies – is no slight thing. It assails the eyes and ears and is a subject of major political comment and concern*” Galbraith (1984, p131) and, significantly, Galbraith continued “*however, it (conditioned power) is probably not as efficient as the direct purchase, or compensatory power, that was common-place in the era of high capitalism*” Galbraith (1984, p131).

It is this efficiency associated with compensatory power (and probably condign power, given the diminution of the power of trades unions to defend the rights, terms and conditions of their members) which may provide a clue to the nature of the present relationship between professionalism and managerialism. The former relying principally on long held and

effective conditioned power and the latter leading with more efficient compensatory power and striving to exercise conditioned power through organisation and ideological conversion. That said, the real issue may be external and is about consensus and that whilst relationships within professions are well founded, the relationships of our professions to the employers and the public are less secure.

A Sociological Perspective

Although the three professions with the longest historical pedigree - clerics, doctors and lawyers - have existed in a recognisable and disciplined form since the Middle Ages, it is arguably only recently that the professions have emerged as a subject of interest for academic study. This may be because the number of senior professions is now significantly increased, with accountants, surveyors, architects, engineers and others joining the original trio. This may also be because there has been a growth towards industry specific professions such as town planners, bankers, loss adjusters, which has raised questions about the aspirant professions described by Goode (1969) and discussed below. There is also a feeling that because sociologists guided by their founding fathers saw the professions as not significantly participating in the class war, (Marx 1849), or at best unclearly aligned, or indistinguishable from other workers (Weber 1963), or as a form of oil in the engine of society (Durkheim 1912) - and here only in the context of France.

The interest of sociologists in professionalism was ultimately kindled by a mixture of academic curiosity and enlightened self-interest. The first, resulting from a steady growth in professionalism and its influence on class and bureaucracy. Or, as Burrage had it "*Marx and Weber pre-empted ground that the professions might have occupied and directed attention away from the study of the distinctive impact of the professions on patterns of conflict and inequality on the distribution of power and authority*" Burrage (1990, Introduction). Established professionals, however, clearly saw their place in society in a different context and were unaware of the late dawning of realisation of their existence by sociologists or perhaps of the existence of sociology itself.

The second, resulting from a wish to join the club described by Marshall (1965) as '*new professions*' or by Etzioni (1966 and 1969) as a '*semi-professions*', or more pointedly by Halmos (1970) as '*personal service professions*'. It is the aspirant nature of the would-be professions and perceptions about the sort of club they wish to join which may provide some clues to the sociologists interests. This interest, academically cloaked (but with self-interest

woven into the undergarments), was kindled in the 1950's. Burrage draws on lessons from that period in the United States, saying that "*professionals within large bureaucracies constructed rival forms of social relationship, of authority and of control, which challenged the imperative co-ordination by bureaucratic superiors and substituted collegial, normative forms of co-ordination*" Burrage (1990, Introduction). The sociologists interest found focus in a flurry of trait theory activity, where a tick box approach to a number of traits determined where your "profession" is or is not a "real profession". The aspirant motivation of the writers can be plainest seen in the development of the trait theory by Moore (1970) as a continuum with non-professions at one end and professions at the other. This was an attractive idea since, not only did it sit comfortably alongside the '*professionalisation of everyone*' as Wilensky (1964) had it, it also provided a self-justified route to self-actualisation for the aspirant.

This was perhaps not surprising. Whereas Marx wouldn't make up his mind whether the professions sat with the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, Marx would, in all probability, have been comfortable with the notion that professional power straddled the line between expert and bureaucratic power. This is expanded on by Beckman (1990) who sees expert power as deriving authority from skills and abilities allied to self interest, reinforced by institutionalisation and sustained by hearsay. Bureaucracy on the other hand takes this authority into the unquestioning territory of rules and roles of hierarchical respect. Could it be, therefore, that the aspirant nature of the home grown or industry specific local government professions, coupled to the pursuit of a more stable, disciplined and less challengeable power and authority by established professions, leads to a trend to move the focus of professions as a whole into bureaucratic territory? A mixture of a personal and collective pursuit of stable authority and power. This is arguably the very territory that managerialism seeks its lebensraum.

Vignette 13

Status and Rank - This Vignette clearly identifies status and rank issues, but more significantly still draws forth knowing looks more than fifty years on

A retired County Chief Executive tells the story about Treasurer's staff in 1945/46, who began fixing nameplates to their office doors - Lt Col Smith, Cmdr Jones, Wing Cmdr Smith-Jones, etc. he delights to relate the speed at which these disappeared when the County Treasurer began signing his letters Lance Bombardier.

But what of the workers - the practising professionals. Do they share the aspirations of the academics and influencers? Interestingly Abbott and Wallace developed their own ideas of knowledge based authority in the context of Nurses and Social Workers, but demonstrate a lack of commitment to follow these ideas through to a conclusion, since there seems to be a curious resentment tainting the argument. This resentment, if that is indeed what it is, may however provide a perspective of knowledge based power. Abbott and Wallace described the perceived semi-professional status of Nurses and Social Workers as 'fragile', suggesting that this is reinforced by the predominance of women in these professions, the caring nature of the work and *'the penumbra of unqualified volunteer helpers surrounding the career professional'*, Abbott and Wallace (1990, p2), though it is acknowledged that the aspirant professionals have not helped themselves in this regard, for example, as *"in their search for a career ladder and higher status, nurses adapted a managerial solution that resulted in the tighter control of nursing staff and mitigated against the development of nurses as autonomous practitioners"* Abbott and Wallace (1990, p23).

Lorentzon, focusing on the numerical domination of women in nursing and social work, suggested the 'femine-profession' rather than the 'semi-profession' and developed the gender-typing theme to identify the nurturing/tending qualities of the caring professions as a significant influence in the long held perceptions of these professions as 'women's work'. Abbott and Wallace seemed to draw a link between women's work and semi-professional status. Equally, however, it could be argued that the act of caring, nurturing or tending is essentially a personal service which relies on the absence of barriers to be effective. It also relies on a personal approach, in the sense that the precise nature of the service will vary from case to case and where, as a rule, demand for the service outstrips supply. In most cases too, the receiver of the service is not paying - hence the need for an army of volunteers to supplement resources on the ground. In developing the argument that the perceived semi-professional status of the caring professions has less to do with feminism, nurturing and unpaid help, but rather more to do with an absence of barriers in relation to the cared for and the sometime championing of individuals needs against the bureaucracy which constrains and disciplines the use of scarce resources, it is clear that there are issues. Consider the issue of the removal of mystery - the power of knowledge cloaked in arcane practices and ceremonialised to preserve distance. Consider also the relationship between nurses and doctors and between social workers and their managers. Here the issue is about subservience to an approach to allocating resources with which not only have nurses and social workers had little influence, but also with which they may have little empathy.

This exposes the possibility of the status and power of professions being devalued by familiarity on the one hand and compromised by lack of strategic influence on managerial decisions.

Vignette 14

Relative Priorities - This Vignette provides a somewhat extreme example of a relative respect and status issue between professions and semi-professions

Health & Safety professionals are seemingly constantly at odds with colleague professions in construction. Much of the time it is about relative priorities and the lack of attention paid by Architects, Engineers and Surveyors to the remonstrations of their Health & Safety colleagues. Perhaps it is more to do with the unwillingness to be distracted rather than lack of interest. Many Health & Safety professionals, however, do not see it that way.

One County Council Officer saw the issue as one of lack of respect on the part of construction professionals for both function and individual and was most concerned about personal status and deference.

The fact that as a now female, but obviously transsexual ex merchant navy officer, she was always going to be wrestling with a bigger handicap to credibility seemed an elusive concept to grasp.

Interestingly, the increasing numbers of nurses, in particular, who are bypassing the controlling doctor profession by achieving managerial positions in the NHS, may say more about the exercise of power rather than of caring and, if power is limited in amount and there is only so much to go around, what incentive is there for dominant professions to share access to it or dilute the control of the exercise of it? This is, however, an internal perspective and, if for example, architects, engineers and surveyors see themselves as trading power and authority between their professions, then this may serve to indicate (which they do) that there is an imperfect understanding of what power is available outwith their combined professional territory.

Deriving power, by whatever means, presumes a reason for acquiring it. In the case with professions it will be concerned with the exercise of political power in the labour market. So, in the context of political power, the caring professions are beginning to see management positions as a way forward- but is this an individual or collective decision? So, it could be that whilst the academic sociologist sees the coming of age of the profession in the context of increasing professionalisation, the practising sociologist could see personal advancement in eschewing claims to professionalism and adapting the tenets of managerialism. However, unlike nurses, sociologists do not have the obstruction of an intermediate profession,

doctors, and as a result have a clearer path to the acquisition of authority and the power that flows from it.

This may not necessarily mean, however, that the path to authority allows the aspirant manager the opportunity to carry his professional baggage successfully into a managerial position. More likely that the major advantage of a direct route is that the aspirant may enjoy a form of “dual nationality”. Enjoy, that is, until either professionalism is abandoned or managerialism is denied, or, as can happen, motivation is mistrusted by former professional colleagues and by new managerial peers.

Vignette 15

Titular Possessiveness - This Vignette illustrates the importance many professions give to titles which may for the most part only enjoy recognition within the profession

A recurrent theme in many conversations with senior professionals in Local Government is job title or name.

One Director of Property Services, having striven for many years to persuade elected members that it needed a multi-disciplinary Property Department – and succeeded, then strove with equal determination to preserve his original title of County Architect as Chief officer of the new department. And, nonplussed by the reactions of those around him, was later vociferous in condemning colleagues failure to settle professional differences.

County Surveyors are not immune from titular possessiveness. One Deputy waited ten years to inherit the Chief Officer's job, only to find that restructuring in 1998 created a Technical Services Directorate. However, special pleading saw birth of a County Surveyor and Director of Technical Services.

At the 1999 Chartered Institute of Civil Engineers Dinner in Manchester, Lancashire County Council's Environment Director was introduced as the last Bridgemaster. Subsequent enquiries have revealed that the title County Surveyor and Bridgemaster enjoys particular status among highways engineers –albeit unrecognisable outside the club.

It can, of course, work the other way and the decision to describe Berkshire County Council's last Chief Executive as its County Manager enjoyed little support – even from the elected members who voted it through.

A Perspective of Collective Knowledge

The growth in influence of the professions is, however, as much about economics as it is about sociology. Whilst explanations for the value of knowledge can be analysed, as Gellner (1988) does in terms of an evolution of societal relationships, more likely the value of

knowledge was reflected in cash terms by people willing to buy it. This was based on need and total utility. It is also based on perceived relevance. Although Polyani (1957) talked about a coming of age and Jones (1981) alluded to a European light on the Road to Damascus, it is more likely that respect for knowledge was created out of a need for it and, moreover, that willingness to pay created a market for a systemised delivery mechanism. This view is reinforced by the way professions have emerged - and in the order of their emergence. For clerics, medics and lawyers, providing spiritual and temporal insurance services for a frightened populace and enjoying minimal price sensitivity, understandably occupy the senior positions in an expanding hierarchy of knowledge specialists.

Braverman's (1974) reanimation of the labour process debate succeeded in extending his concerns about the distribution of craftsmanship (and the values and pride associated with it), leading directly to a destruction of culture and science (which drew strength from it) and onto the mass professions, whose de-skilling he saw as part and parcel of increasing managerial control over society as a whole. Whilst, at first sight, this romantic view of craft skills is more in tune with Walter Gropius' insistence that his Bauhouse Architects first learn a craft or trade to better prepare them for design work, it does suggest an inevitable process of de-skilling, through mass professions and standard processes and on to diminution of professional authority. A sort of professional mass production system. This concern is soundly built on by Shaw (1987), drawing on work by Abercrombie and Urry (1983), who highlighted the mismatch between public and professional aspirations and suggests that wider issues are ignored by professions concentrating on technical matters and that this, coupled to changes in public perception and step changes in process efficiency, will lead to de-skilling and loss of control over their core work.

Gellner (1988) clearly accepted the influence of market focus on the emerging professions but saw the market-place as a product of '*cognitive growth*'. It is clearly true that there would be no professions without knowledge. However, it is equally true that whilst knowledge can exist without payment, it is the payment that provides the security to enable a systemisation of that knowledge and the confidence to create a structure to sustain, nurture and ultimately to differentiate it. There is, however, a broad agreement about the power that this knowledge brings - whether that be economic or sociological. But, are there changes afoot? Michael Clark, a Past President and Ian Oddy, an Honorary Secretary of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors endorsed Richard Chalkley's 1990 book on Professional Conduct, by talking about practice today changing "*almost beyond recognition*". They harked back to a post-war Britain where professionals "*enjoyed a respect for their*

integrity and competence". They add, somewhat portentously, that "*the attitude of society (to professionals) has undergone an enormous sea-changethere is a sense of mistrust*". This bond of trust and confidence between the public and professions is a consistent theme in published advice from the Institutions to its Members and there is a clear recognition that "*professions are largely creatures of public demand*". Interestingly professional knowledge and ethical conduct are seen as the two essential elements on which the command of public confidence rest, Chalkley (1990) foreword.

From a managerial perspective Drucker talked about the need for managers to be "*intolerant*" of knowledge specialists who hide information in order to preserve a dominant position. He describes this as "*arrogance*" Drucker (1995, pp12-15). Later he said "*to build achieving organisations, you must replace power with responsibility*". Interestingly Drucker, in expanding his argument, drew attention to the mobility and potentially capricious nature of knowledge workers, Drucker (1995, pp213-223): "*But the relationship between the organization and knowledge workers, who already number at least one-third and more likely two-fifths of all employees, is radically different, as is that between the organization and volunteers. They can work only because there is an organization, thus they too are dependent. But at the same time, they own the 'means of production' - their knowledge. In this respect, they are independent and highly mobile*" Drucker (1995, p78). Macdonald (1995) writing from a sociological viewpoint spoke of "*the removal of the professions from their privileged position in the sociological order of things*" and "*the way in which the possessors of specialist knowledge set about building up a monopoly of their knowledge and, on this basis, establish a monopoly of the services that derive from it*" Macdonald (1995, p188). The occupational quest for professionals is for a monopoly in the market for services based on their expertise.

In order to maintain position professions rely on both adoption and regulation (sometimes government imposed - as is architecture) and on exclusion as espoused by Weber and later by others. It also supports a conclusion that, whilst knowledge is the internal supporter of structure/power, that society/government is a necessary external supporter.

It could be that as society increases in both sophistication and understanding, so deference will be replaced by recognition of special skills and structural power will be replaced by persuasion of the value of specialist knowledge. Enshrining knowledge in a formal professional structure creates a powerful sort of knowledge. This professional structure is implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) encouraged by the state (to serve the state) and is

obliged by virtue of this support to respect its monopolistic privilege. This creates a form of “regulative bargain” as Macdonald (1995) had it. It also fosters both arrogance and protectionism as members of the professional club derive advantage and enjoy reward. Murphy (1988) pointed out, however, that this sort of knowledge led to an understanding of how to acquire new knowledge and exclusive access to knowledge was no longer guaranteed. This, taken together with more open access to more open professions, degraded the mystery of status-derived knowledge and increased the influence of society on the status of professions

Vignette 16

Heads of Profession - This Vignette illustrates that the power of expert knowledge may vary between professions depending on their marginal value to the client

Paradoxically, it is occasionally commented upon (by other professionals), that the favourite choice of professions by members for Chief Executive – that is Lawyers and Accountants - is more likely because of the perceived protection offered to Members rather than for other and more worthy reasons.

Nonetheless, and rightly or wrongly, the Head of Profession debate remains a live issue at the Millenium. And the basic twin argument position put forward by the professional heads seeking to maintain professional authority in the face of reorganisation are strikingly similar. In one Authority this debate has been rehearsed on three occasions:-

Architects	-	lost	1990
Surveyors	-	lost	1991
Engineers	-	lost	1994
Lawyers	-	won	1998
Accountants	-	drawn	1999

A mixture of anecdotal evidence and support gleaned from the propensity to risk externalisation with weakened internal professional support, suggests that this pattern (although not necessarily the timetable) is not uncommon.

Professionals however preserve status in society as a whole by paying their dues. Whether this passport to status is described as certified and credentialled after Weber (1978) or a knowledge mandate as Halliday (1987) had it, probably makes little difference, since differentiation and exclusivity is achieved and preserved. Moreover as demand from prospective members of the professional club increases, so entrance fees rise and credentials and certificates become more difficult to achieve - unless that is the value of the credential is to be relatively devalued. Abbott (1988) described jurisdiction as pivotal to the credibility of professions, but also drew out the importance of abstraction as the element that sets apart

interprofessional competition from competition from other sorts of occupations. Could it be that it is this preservation of mystery which lies at the heart of professional power - and its means of survival? On the other hand an increasingly sophisticated and practical public may see utility and relevance as being more significant. If abstraction lies at the heart of professional power then judgement is perhaps its life blood. Larson (1977) saw professionals reserving and preserving areas for the exercise of talent and insight. This judgement, however, needs thinking about in the context of the environment as a whole.

A Perspective of Individual Autonomy

Possession of specialist knowledge grants a form of independence or autonomy, since possessors of that knowledge are inherently mobile, notwithstanding exhortations to replace power with responsibility, Drucker (1995). This autonomy was examined by Forsyth and Danisiewicz (1985) in two dimensions in pursuit of a systematic attitudinal profile. The first was seen in respect of autonomy from clients and the second was autonomy from employing organisations. Whilst this research seems principally devoted to establishing a theory of professionalism based on differing degrees of attitudinal autonomy between true, semi and mimic professions, it does nonetheless provide some clues as to the relationship between profession, its status and its perceived authority based in independence.

Vignette 17

Individualism and Discipline - This Vignette illustrates variations in attitudinal independence between professions

An old acquaintance and long-serving Chief Officer related a sorry tale of intrigue and politics involving his work in brokering the transfer of an Architectural Department to the Private Sector. His impending retirement allowed an immediate freedom of expression.

He describes the Architects as "ancient sheep" whose refusal to "flock" or respond collectively to management decisions created "the sort of discipline usually associated with a bomb scare at the circus".

Interestingly, this individualism and isolated purposefulness is seen as a professional strength in one to one client relationships, so I pursued this with a professional of a different discipline who remains closely in touch with day to day management issues of the now externalised department.

He says that he recognised this individualism and lack of group direction was a serious problem for the other property professions who needed some boundaries and cohesiveness in their work - some managed collective purpose.

Interestingly the language used by Goode (1969), Larson (1977), Freidson (1970) and Oppenheimer (1973) for example tends to concentrate on the power of professionalism from an organisational perspective. So, unless professionals as individuals have some unique access to specialist knowledge in some particular aspect of professional work, it is likely that the professional organisation, rather than the individual will wield that knowledge to advantage. The power of knowledge, wielded organisationally, is clearest seen in the once common practice of establishing minimum recommended fee scales. This collective marketing reinforced the monopolisation of expert knowledge, but was dependent on government acquiescing to the practice - particularly in Local Government. Following government deregulation of fee arrangements and in response to decreasing levels of business, a more individualistic approach has led to a breaking of ranks amongst professionals and a resulting alteration in the balance of power between professionals (the individual) and professionalism (the organisation).

This shift in emphasis leads us towards Hall's seminal definition of autonomy which *"invokes the feeling that the practitioner ought to be allowed to make decisions without external pressures from clients, and others who are not members of his profession, or from his employing organisation"* Hall (1969, p82). This individualistic theme is developed by Freidson (1970), Pavalko (1971) and Lawler and Hague (1973) who seemed to pay more attention to client side autonomy and by Brande (1975) who saw independence from the employing organisation as a key indicator of the degree of relative professional status. The essentially individualistic theme of autonomy clearly has relevance for those professionals working in Local Government whose independence from client and organisation is questionable and perhaps dependant on a mobility which may have been reduced. I say 'may' have been reduced because, whilst the recession of the nineties has for example clearly reduced career opportunities for architects, engineers and surveyors in Local Government, opportunities for lawyers and accountants have remained at a more buoyant level.

What is clear, however, is that the power of the individual is conditioned by the prevailing environmental condition and Freidson's (1994) view that economic capital as well as political power are both vital sustainers of professions, must be as true for the individual as it is for the organisation. So, although, according to Freidson (1970 and 1976), the power of knowledge depends on relative exclusivity and specialisation and, according to Gouldner (1954) draws power from specialisation linked to an essential characteristic (in this case pit props). Jamous and Peloille (1970) and Johnson (1972) saw a margin of uncertainty

granting power. But, however derived, is firmly within the purview of the professions to dispense with discretion. A meld of mystery and monopoly tinged with the indispensable.

In terms of autonomy, however, the individual professional is constrained by his or her environment which involves wider appreciation and vision.

In a sense we are turning full circle because it is difficult to ignore Freidson's (1994) comment that "*consideration of such matters as professional autonomy and discretion in the context of credentialism virtually requires us to return to the issue of expertise, or specialised knowledge and skill*" Freidson (1994, p163). Thus credentialism, which creates the monopolistic condition or '*shelter*' described by Freeman (1976), is also the passport to autonomy - a passport issued by membership of the professional organisation or club, since the autonomy of individuals is a product of the credentialised knowledge of the collective group.

Interestingly and in examining Freidson's (1994) development of Johnson's (1972) "*collegiate control*" the credentialing control of professional bodies has been diluted. This dilution flows from the externalisation of accreditation and the increasing degree to which training examinations and assessments are subcontracted to education establishments. This weakens Freidson's definition of a variable economic monopoly as control of "*recruitment, training and credentialing so that it can regulate directly the number of practitioners available to meet demand*" Freidson (1994, Introduction). Professions may therefore have lost some control of the power of monopolistic security to reinforce the value of their specialist and expert knowledge?

Schon was concerned about the need for professionals to recognise the limits of their professional knowledge and the increasing public expectation that they respond to and provide answers to complex dilemmas "*when professionals fail to recognise or respond to value conflicts, when they violate their own ethical standards, fall short of self-created expectations for expert performance, or seem blind to public problems they have helped to create, they are increasingly subject to expressions of disapproval and dissatisfaction*" Schon (1987, p7). Whilst professionals may argue that they have no responsibility for larger systems in society and the inflexibility of professional (or any) structures to deal with rapidly shifting social and societal problems (or fashions), we are left pondering Illich (1970) who took professionals to task for cloaking their knowledge in mystery and setting up barriers and monopolies heedless of the social consequences. Noticeably in local government

in England, Architects, Engineers and Surveyors have sought to gain responsibility for larger systems with societal significance such as school building programmes, traffic circulation schemes, car parking arrangements.

That said and given the level of unrestrained criticism reserved for governments in this Chapter entitled "*Planned Poverty : The End Result of Technical Assistance*" it could take comfort from the fact that Illich may not have seen professionals as the worst of evils, Illich (1970, pp159-174).

A Perspective of Influence – Clarity and Ambiguity

That professions have influence in or over society would not be disputed by many, although Marx may at times have struggled to acknowledge both existence or relevance. However, the nature of that influence is the issue of some debate. McKinley (1973) set out his stall in unequivocal fashion. He talked about dominant professions occupying powerful monopoly positions which they use to engineer social change. He sees medicine and law as exemplars of this practice. In the quarter of a century which has passed since boldly stating what few had boldly stated before, has anything changed? Has accountancy entered that state of influential grace and, if so, does that tell us anything about the nature of the influence of the professions?

As a point of reference it may be helpful to have a view of professions as seen at the end of the last century. Spencer (1896) for example saw the professions as a source of enhancement of the human condition. This glowing endorsement of the value of professions continued into the next generation with Tawney (1920) and Carr-Saunders (1928) talking of the expansion of the professions as contributing to both quality of product and of society as a whole. Given the general acceptance of the perceived value of professions to society and the implicit deference of society to its potential benefactors, it is perhaps not surprising that society made room for the professions and nurtured their growth throughout the middle years of this century. By the 1960's, however, society may have become sensitised about the influence of its progeny as Parsons (1968) and Bell (1976) joined McKinley and others to alert the world to this significant and now established development - and the shift in power and influence which had resulted.

So what has happened Since? Alongside the growth in the influence of professions a number of trends are apparent. The first trend has been a move away from amateur, or

non-paid activity, and a move towards professional, or paid activity. This trend has variously been described as the professionalisation of tasks by Mincer (1968), Freidson (1994) and others. However, as Freidson points out, this trend creates more professions and leads to a multiplicity of activity so large and diffuse that it required internal stratification, which in turn fuels the debate about professions, semi-professions and non-professions. It is this diffuseness which lies at the heart of the matter and which Freidson saw as crucial. Freidson argued that it is occupations rather than classes which have gained organised power and this view is clearly substantiated by the differentiation in charge out rates between the professions, which in turn is a product of perceived value by the payer. Interesting, if this is true (and observation suggests it is), then it is the perceived value to the public of the occupation which determines its position in the professional pecking order, rather than ticking boxes in a trait theory analysis.

Vignette 18

A View from the Outside - This Vignette shows the credibility attaching to standardised solutions delivered with confidence

A County Council IT Director (and an Accountant by profession), who drew on many years experience of working with our three professions, was happy to describe two approaches to management problems.

The first approach, where the answer was available even before the question was fully put. There was no need for definition of the problem, nor was there a need to examine options. The goal (the solution) was immediately obvious and the effort needed was to design the mechanism by which it was to be most efficiently achieved (solved).

Achievement was mapped out in milestones and key tasks with responsibilities, budgets and timescales allocated. Certainty of purpose was vital and rank accorded the privilege of being right.

This was contrasted with the alternative approach where quick answers were not forthcoming and progress to arrive at a definition of the problem was both iterative and reiterative. Once defined and owned by all involved, the problem was delegated to others for resolution.

It is of significant that the perception of this senior manager was that of the difference between strong (and therefore good) management and weak (vacillating) management. And where the problem with the iterative approach was described in the following terms "make sure that you're the last one to ask him because you stand a good chance of shifting his position and an off chance you'll change his mind. When you're managing a project you can't afford to second guess".

Oliver Goldsmith's observation that "It is not that they do not see the solution, rather it is that they do not see the problem" is curiously relevant to this situation, even though more than 300 years has elapsed.

The second trend appears as a product of individual professions' ability to raise effective barriers and freeze the monopolistic authority of the profession. The degree to which the barriers are effective is affected by the strength and perceived value of the profession as seen in the context of the strength of the managerial or market forces seeking to amend or change it. There is, underpinning the frozen monopoly, an inherent flawed assumption that the environment remains unchanged. This trend may be a by-product of the move toward a managerial relationship with professions, where professionals increasingly work within managed and multi-disciplinary organisations and where the dominant profession emerges in a managerial context. It could be, however, that the ideologically based pursuit of control on the basis of, say, craftsmanship or public service argued by Jamous and Pelloille (1970) may provide a clue to the way that the influence of professionals has changed. Freidson, in discussing this, saw this ideological control as hinging on gaining an access to power not commensurate with the work itself. But, and its a big but, this ideological control is gifted by the controlled, who in a climate of denigration, questioning and rising aspirations, increasingly demand a pay-back in other than ideological currency.

Also of interest is the trend for professions to grow and expand whilst trying to maintain shelter under a single umbrella. The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors provides an example of multi-divisional structure held together not by synergy but by custom and practice and a desire to increase overall membership and (presumably) income. Does this weaken influence by diffusion? The public's tolerance of the influence and power of professions is conditioned by the responsiveness of professions to the aspirations of the public. How much or to what extent the public are prepared to influence the professions, however, may depend on the balance between value derived and alternative sources of advice and product and the relevance, appropriateness and sensitivity of that advice.

It is rare for professions to formally discipline its members and as Carr-Saunders & Wilson (1933) concluded the 'silent pressure' of peers is more important. Freidson (1980; 1988) picks up this point but drawing on work by Gilb (1966) and Lieberman (1970) concluded that there is concern that whilst organisations' internal discipline is consensus driven, it can be injudiciously driven and, perhaps more importantly, work against public interest. This parochial exercise of partisan authority creates an atmosphere of denigration and this loss of prestige and trust which flows from de-mystification and increasing irrelevance forms the basis of Haug's (1973; 1975; 1977) pragmatic view of the public's increasing perception of self serving professionals, rather than the altruistic perceptions with which the public greeted the professions aspirations to grow in stature and influence.

This atmosphere of mistrust runs in parallel with deregulation of fees, the knowledge gap narrowing as general education improves and the willingness of other professions to predate on the territory of its neighbours. Some of the clearest examples of professional turf wars can be seen in our construction professions, where engineers and surveyors have invaded architectural territory. Paradoxically, it is arguable that there is a problem in achieving a satisfactory extension of managerialism deep into the public sector and this problem revolves not around the conflicting ideological differences between managerialism and professionalism, but rather with a potential conflict with democratic politics. This could be because the philosophical differences between the clarity of managerialism and the ambiguity of politics described by Gyford (1993) do create a climate where loyalty to the exercise of rational transparency militates against success in the political environment where argument replaces measurement as the method of evaluation and context is always important and often critical. Whilst Hood (1991) and Farnham and Horton (1993) each referred to the ways in which managerial clarity can be extended into the political arena, it is fair to say that much of the language is that of scientific management and influencing Pollitt's (1993) critique of neo Taylorism, rather than to Pollard's much earlier (1968) view that the art of management was not insulated from social forces and could be a tool or instrument of those forces.

Nonetheless, the firmly established attitude systems identified by Metalfe and Richards (1984) which see the need to maintain separation between democratic politics and management do necessarily create tensions between political and managerial exponents. Unless, of course, a distinction is drawn between scientific management and cultural or competence management espoused by Reid (1988) and others where greater emphasis is placed on practice and experience and where managerial formulae are seen as contributing to solutions rather than providing ready made answers.

As we end this Chapter, having explored the issue from three perspectives, and reach the end of the triangulation it is possible to see a linear approach overlaid by what may be a circular and many faceted series of arguments and issues.

In short, the research question presents in a variety of ways and this is best evidenced by the circular aspects and iterative nature of the examination. The move from discussions about the way professionals feel about their professionalism to a review of managerialism as a potential substitute through to a view of respective power and influence each may have, does inexorably bring the debate full circle. It is possible, for example, to see a further move

from way that professionals exercise power and influence to an examination of way in which professionals and professionalism has adjusted to its changed environment in Local Government.

The circular and multi-faceted nature of the outcome of the triangulated literature research has already exposed power and influence issues in explorations around rationing and rationalities and in discussions about managerialism. These are the links referred to at the beginning of Chapter Two and its comparison and contrast with professionalism. This iteration in three chapters around the professions through the medium of literature has clarified the most appropriate means of approaching the research question and has created boundaries and parameters within which to refine the research question and has set down something of the flavour of existing knowledge around the research question. We have the comfort of confirmation of the existence of issues creating the ambivalence of professionals towards management and the managerial approach as a means of solving problems and achieving organisational objectives. We also have gleaned glimpses of some of the sorts of differences that could exist between our professions in terms of attitude and approach. We now move on to Chapter Five to develop a conceptual framework within which to move the refined research question forward.

CHAPTER 5 - THE ISSUE REFINED, THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

As part of the conclusion to Chapter One and prior to the three facet exploration of literature by examination of rationing and rationalities, managerialism and power in Chapters Two, Three and Four respectively, the research question was described as follows: *"why is it that construction professionals are ambivalent about the idea of management and the managerial approach as a method of solving problems and achieving organisational aims and objectives"?*

The triangulated perspectives of rationing and rationalities, managerialism and power were chosen or selected on the basis that they emerged from the Ruttlethire Case Study as having a significant part to play and impact or influence on the development of the debate in Ruttlethire and, in turn, on the research question. The vignettes and general observation of local authority construction professional organisations suggest that the Ruttlethire Case Study, although comprising a number of unique features, may nonetheless reflect a common set of issues.

This Chapter of the Thesis refines the research question in the light of the literature search revolving around rationing and rationalities, managerialism and power and develops a conceptual framework against which to take it forward.

Three Professions

The professions of Architect, Engineer and Surveyor have been at the forefront of Local Authority CCT activity for some twenty years. These three professions, because of their involvement in and reliance on construction work, have also been exposed to the most vigorous market conditions consequent upon the worst recession for several decades. Each has felt the brunt of a re-prioritisation of resource allocation. Each has been exposed to public scrutiny. Each has enjoyed little academic attention. Each has reacted, or appears to have reacted, in different ways to the pressures and changes.

In some ways this is doubly curious, since the Local Government (Planning and Land) Act of 1980, a seminal piece of legislation and pivotal to the then government's aspirations for Local Government, was principally targeted at construction work. These technical

professions of Architecture, Engineering and Surveying are all long established by Royal Charter, did enjoy a recognised position in society and were imported into Local Government, rather than being a creation of it. This apparent difference in professions which, on the face of it may be thought to react in similar ways, provides reinforcement to the need to answer the supplementary question about differing attitudes and approaches between the professions. In terms of a definition of the *Three Professions*, it is possible to be precise. Here the focus group are full members of either

The Royal Institute of British Architects or those accredited by the Architects Registration Council of the UK (ARCUK)

The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors

Bodies affiliated to the Engineering Council allowing its members recognition as Chartered Engineers

A more detailed consideration of the sample will follow.

A Seamless Web of Influences

The choice of rationing and rationalities, managerialism and power were chosen as perspectives with which to achieve a triangulated overview of the issues as a result of their emergence in Ruttleshire. It was understood, in accepting the emergence of this triangulation, that the perspectives were not equidistant. What is now apparent from the literature is that there could be a significant inter-relationship and overlap between the three points of entry beyond those overlaps identified as the chapters developed, extending or reinforcing the suggestion that the three chapters are, in practice, a single stage in the development of the Thesis.

The first overlap revolves around the link between rationality and structure and the extent to which this creates specialisms (architecture, engineering and surveying for example) and leads to consideration of power and relative authority. The second flows from the above and the status of senior professionals in many local authorities which, on the face of it, is at variance with the authority granted by technical rationality. This mismatch is not assisted by the professionals view of the greater status accorded to those who specialise over the generalist and those who practice intra-professionally. The third sees challenges to

professional independence which is both challenged by our professionals position in a rational and rationing structure and challenged by politicians and the public who see this as means of preserving professional power.

Also as the politician has increasingly seized the initiative and sought a more direct involvement in executive decisions, so we see the architect, engineer and surveyor with re-engineered (diminished) roles in policy areas. Moreover, in a general sense, the increasing pressure on local authorities' resources has seen an emphasis on rationing and contained within the responses is an ideological debate. It is this ideological debate which creates an additional set of overlaps. The move from advisor to rationer and the power which flows from this change in role for our professionals is not the sort of professional power envisaged by many commentators. It is a move driven (in part at least) by ideology of government but is first and foremost a catalyst for tension or struggle between professionals and managers. Each claims to have the solution to the resourcing problems created by the need to ration and each presents arguments against an ideological back-cloth - at least according to Pollitt.

Whether we are witness to an ideological turf war between professionalism and managerialism is a matter of debate. We are, however, witness to a conflict of values and attitudes as well as a presentation of alternative solutions. This, in turn, creates a direct link between managerialism, professionalism and organisational power. The consensus view of power also overlays a further link between it and rationing and managerialism, since the seeming failure of professionals to rise to the challenge of rationing has resulted in a withdrawal of support of the public and politicians and a diminution of power relative to managers - whose claim to be able to rise to the challenge has created a transfer of credibility from one to the other.

The undermining of knowledge derived power wielded organisationally by a blend of diminished consensus based support for the organisations themselves and a transfer of responsibility for the solutions to problems seemingly insolvable by knowledge specialists, has both confirmed the complex mesh of relationships between rationing, managerialism and power related to our professionals and confirmed the fragility of professionals erstwhile dominance in the relationship.

Vignette 19

Pecking Order - This Vignette Illustrates the recognition by professionals that there is visionary factor contributing to success

It is not uncommon for a pecking order to be evident in professions where, say, different specialisms are accorded more or less Kudos, or respect, than others.

I was surprised, however, to see a formalised division of two construction professions – by title and salary – dependant upon what the proponent of the approaches described as an “imagination quotient”.

Architects with most ‘imagination’ were accorded the title of Designer, and this was formally recognised by salary and seniority. Interestingly, their more pedestrian colleagues were referred to as Architects. A question brought forward the answer that, much as the author of the arrangement resented retention of the professional title by the less worthy, it would create “difficulties”.

Surveyors were treated in much the same way, with Quantity Surveyors being structurally downgraded at the expense of Building Economists, who assumed a position half a notch below Designers (whom they supported), but above Architects who, because of lack of imagination, deserved support only from the less imaginative Quantity Surveyors.

Significantly, it was only from the ranks of Designers & Building Economists that future managers were drawn.

The Thesis is already committed to examine issues in response to the subsidiary question *"what are the differences in attitudes and approaches to management and managerial issues between architects, engineers and surveyors?"* But, is there a crystalising third question - related to the first about our professionals struggling with the idea of management and its approach and to the second which is about the differences (and the similarities) between our professions? In a sense it is a quest for a reason. Is there some simple explanation for the apparent ambivalence to a managerial approach by our professionals? It may be that this reason or explanation lies around context.

Throughout the Case Study of Ruttleshire and in the literature there are numerous examples, illustrations and comments which suggest professionals, in general and in particular, simply do not have the fullest grasp of contextual and environmental issues. The corollary of this is that those that do have a grasp do tend to manage successfully. In Ruttleshire the proponents of change and a move to a managerial style and approach and using the language of 'leadership', 'management', 'accountability', 'control' and 'political sensitivity' were responded to by professionals concerned about process, reporting mechanisms, professional autonomy, titles and status within hierarchies. It was almost as

if there were parallel arguments running. One using the language of management and seeing the other as founded on professional arrogance and self-serving ambitions. The other concerned with preserving professional values, eschewing compromise and seeing political sensitivity not as an environmental necessity but as an issue of professional integrity. This presents itself, on the face of it, as an issue of orientation.

The seeming failure to grasp the underlying issues about shortage of resources and inappropriate balance in the solutions offered was, by and large, not understood by the senior professionals closest to the issues. Although context (environmental issues) is woven into much of the material sourced from literature, Schon provided us with the clearest exposition. In considering the climate of rationing, Schon was concerned to bring out the divergence of problems increasingly facing professionals. He talked about the comfort professionals feel about solving problems using research based theory and techniques and their discomfort when issues requiring resolution lie wholly or partly outside areas where application of technical rationality is appropriate. He describes this extending to insensitivity where professional or technical solutions are put forward in any event, heedless of the wider context of the problem.

Vignette 20

Beyond Professionalism - This Vignette presents a further example of the recognition by professionals that there is an additional factor determining success

A venerated Principal in a Private Surveyors Practice was well known for his informal chats with young professionals. Upon qualification, by way of recognition of achievement (and as a way of reducing aspirations as to salary), each newly Chartered Surveyor was given the benefit of the Principal's wisdom. There were two threads

The first thread hung on the statement "there's more to Quantity Surveying than taking off dimensions", which introduced a discourse on the need for a wider perspective of professional activity.

The second thread hung on the statement "once you're qualified you know enough to know what you don't know". This preceded a chat through client care and marketing lore.

Interestingly, there was no sense of the place of management in professional development. Indeed 'management' for this senior practitioner took place each Monday – which was set aside to "do the VAT and expenses".

Schon also crystalised the discussion about the perceived value of different sorts of knowledge. He talked about the value to professionals of propositional knowledge resulting from the increased status it accords within the profession and contrasts this with day to day

practice which is likely to be most respected by the public. This is also a context issue, insofar as professionals misunderstanding of this value mismatch is often described as arrogance. And, more importantly, it assists the critics of professional approach to argue that important areas of practice now lie outwith mainstream professional competences.

Inaccurate or incomplete problem framing can also contribute to context problems and stakeholders can as a result see the definition of the problem as essentially different. Not surprising, perhaps, that the solution is often perceived as inappropriate or ill-fitting. Schon also explained the disapproval and dissatisfaction with professional solutions in the context of misunderstanding of value conflicts and blindness to public problems. Interestingly, Schon talked about unusually competent professionals as displaying artistry. Is this a way of thinking about a professional who can balance a range of knowledge in solving complex problems framed in different ways by different stakeholders?

Is not this core of artistry lying at the heart of a competent professional's practice an exposition of the need for practice in context?

The Research Question

The Thesis is framed around a primary question *"why is it that construction professionals are ambivalent about the idea of management and the managerial approach as a method of solving problems and achieving organisational aims and objectives?"* The subsidiary question identified at an early stage addressed a complimentary issue *"what are the differences in attitudes and approaches to management and managerial issues between architects, engineers and surveyors?"*

The third, and final or crystalising, question has, now reformed into a statement, emerged following a review of literature and it concerns context: *"it is an inadequate understanding of the contextual environment within which our professionals frame problems and provide solutions that is a principal contributor to failures in management"*

Also, in order to provide additional focus for the research question and provide a clear direction forward it is helpful to martial and order thoughts and ideas and to take stock. It will be crucial to keep the higher level aspirational aim or purpose of the research in clear view, which is to see whether there are any lessons or pointers for the management development of our professionals.

The question about why construction professionals are ambivalent toward management and management approaches was examined from three different perspectives and a range of issues emerged for consideration. Context (or environmental issues) emerged as a significant influence from each of the three viewpoints. This need for and absence of the grasping of context seems to be a major part of the answer - a reason for failure. The seed question, about the reasons why construction professionals are ambivalent about management, it is proposed, is an issue of contextual awareness and a resultant presentation of inappropriate solutions to incorrectly framed problems is the core of the Thesis. But, testing this will not be a simple task. And the reason for the lack of simplicity needs some explanation. The subsidiary questions about differences between the three professions, of interest of itself, may, in seeking out an answer, shed an additional source of light on the seed question and core of the Thesis.

Vignette 21

Professional Duty - This Vignette illustrates a confusion of task labelling or language

A number of colleagues see no real difference between professionals and managers in approach and attitude. Indeed, there is a widely held view that management is part and parcel of a professional's normal job of work – management is something a professional practitioner grows into as he matures in the profession” is not an atypical response.

Interestingly, and more often than not, the language used to describe the management process is the language of project management – identifying tasks, programming workload, monitoring performance against targets and so forth, since it is spoken in the context of specific projects or programmes, rather than in terms of the function itself.

This relegation of management to the process rather than promotion to the function was highlighted in a Caledonian context. During a set of interviews for senior staff in NHS estates work in Scotland in 1990/91, an Edinburgh Architectural Principal was brought in as a Lay Advisor.

This well-respected local practitioner was dismissive of the need for management in so far as it was something “looked after at a lower level”. He saw his most important task as vetting all fee bills before despatch to clients. He did not equate this activity with management, but saw it as a professional duty.

The problem with testing sensitivity to environmental influences, which can be as much about sensing the mood, is more akin to an art than a science (Schon's point). It can also be obvious, but usually after the event (or if pointed out). Waiting for a reaction is, however, not a course of action regularly available to professionals in practice. The feeling is that in order to test contextual awareness, explicit reference to context or environment would be

best avoided lest a hindsight enhanced answer is provided. There is a sense that teasing out context related issues would be best achieved by stealth, rather than frontal assault. The methodological approach will reflect this.

Prior to moving forward to consider a methodological overview there is merit in thinking through contextual awareness by sighting back to the earlier triangulation around Rationing and Rationalities, Managerialism and Power. Here we saw the development of the idea finding focus on lines of enquiry identified from the case study. Rationing and Rationalities was identified as a result of the need for our professionals to work against a backcloth of limited resources. Managerialism was identified as it seemed to represent an alternative solution to pre-existing resourcing problems. Power identified itself as the intangible goal of those representing the alternative approaches of solvers of these problems.

It must be acknowledged at outset that the triangulation was imperfect. However, the degree to which overlaps and cross fertilisation occurred during the development of the research posed some interesting questions. Some of the questions flowed from the proximity of the points of triangulation - say in the links between m, effectively ration by claiming managerial or professional authority and credibility. Importantly, some of the questions however relate to the consistency in attitudes of professionals evident when considering the issue from the chosen perspectives, hinting at the existence of a seamless issue.

The link between attitudes and context is perhaps not surprising, since context and the recognition of it and the response to it must be conditioned by the experiences of those professionals reacting to it. This is evidenced by inability to both frame problems and provide relevant and appropriate solutions - particularly when those professionals concerned are unaware of the inability. This link between attitude and context is an internal rather than an external perception in the sense that it is not so much about what third parties would describe, but is more about what factors cause professionals to view or interpret context issues in that way.

There are discussions developed in Chapter Four around rationalities which talk about an ideological shared purpose and power and relative authority. This, taken together with an ordered inter-dependence of assumptions and presumptions (p38), overlain with the concepts of professional judgement and autonomy creates the suggestion that a professional

mindset could exist and, moreover, be a barometer of conceptual awareness. But, is there other evidence in our early triangulation about mindset and context?

The exploration of ideological issues, real or perceived, between managerialism and professionalism throws up a number of examples of different ways of thinking about problems and solutions to those problems, which suggest different mindsets. This is of course reinforced by systematised and standard approaches to defined tasks and the pressure, implicit and explicit, of the regulatory professional bodies who police the arrangements. The "condescension of professionalism" described by Perkin (1989,p475) provides a third party view and a flavour of the strength of attitude suggesting a collective way of thinking, and in turn a view towards context. There are also issues about orientation, since setting mindset temporarily to one side, there is a suggestion that there are professionals who are comfortable with adopting (say) the language of managerialism, whilst putting forward professionally based solutions. This may be particularly relevant in areas of activity closest to project management or for those professionals working close to the corporate hearts of local authorities, which have adopted managerial style of presentation.

Returning to mindset and acknowledging discussions about ideology, there were clear indications about a systematised set of beliefs and that these also reflect a view of the world and how it should be backed up by some sort of social organisation. Indeed both professionalism and managerialism can, to a strong but not coincident degree, each show strong ideological characteristics, which in turn provide reinforcement of the contextual importance of mindset.

The third initial triangulation point, that of Power, opens with Arendt's view on the need for a group to remain together, to act in concert, in order to wield power effectively. In order to act in concert, the mindset of the group must allow a concerted response or reaction to problems and issues. Whilst Arendt's arguments are not left unchallenged there is strong evidence linking organisations and organisational power. Galbraith's assertions about the power or organisation being the most important in modern societies and, where this is linked to conditioned power - the power to change belief - the most effective, underlines the importance of mindset.

In terms of collective knowledge, this is clearly a power related issue, with links through ideology and to rationing structures. This may also be a manifestation of a collective

mindset, since knowledge is more often than not disseminated through systems, practices, procedures and codified responses to problems. Although we are describing the potential emergence or identification of a standardised or shared way of thinking amongst our professionals, is this similar for each profession? Do individuals, with similar professional individual autonomy, orientate themselves similarly to a management or professional approach? The reoccurring appearance of mindset or attitudes as the thesis develops and its links to context and the core of the research suggests that mindset should be explored as one means of focussing the research on context. This use of mindset as a means of attack would also serve the purpose of tackling context from a non direct angle, where directness has created some anxiety.

Interestingly, as mindset or attitude has emerged as environmental influencer on the internal contextualising of our professionals, so determining professional or managerial orientation provides a means of gauging the implicit or explicit recognition by these individuals of their inherent attitudes to problems and approaches to solutions. Are, for example, professionals adopting the language of managerialism but thinking in terms of solutions to problems both of which were formed and framed by a professional mindset? Also, and throughout the development of this thesis, there have been issues of language - both in a literal sense and in the sense of interpretation and translation of the definition of problems and the description of solutions. These language issues, and their relative position to mindset and orientation, allows an alternative means of exploring context identified as a natural development of the discourse and an evolution from the imperfect first triangulation of Rationing and Rationalities, Managerialism and Power.

The distillation of context through the recognition that the attitude of construction professionals reflects each individual's contextual position relative to a particular issue or circumstance or problem creates an opportunity to explore context from an internal or personal perspective of professional practitioners. This internal view of context could be particularly interesting in the case of younger professionals uncontaminated with extensive contact with or experience of managerial issues and dilemmas. Here the attitude or stance would be clarified by the certainty which inexperience provides.

A triangulated approach suggests mindset as one direction of attack. This will establish thinking around the issue. It also suggests orientation, since this will establish focus and direction and it offers up the prospect of using language, based on its recurrent and

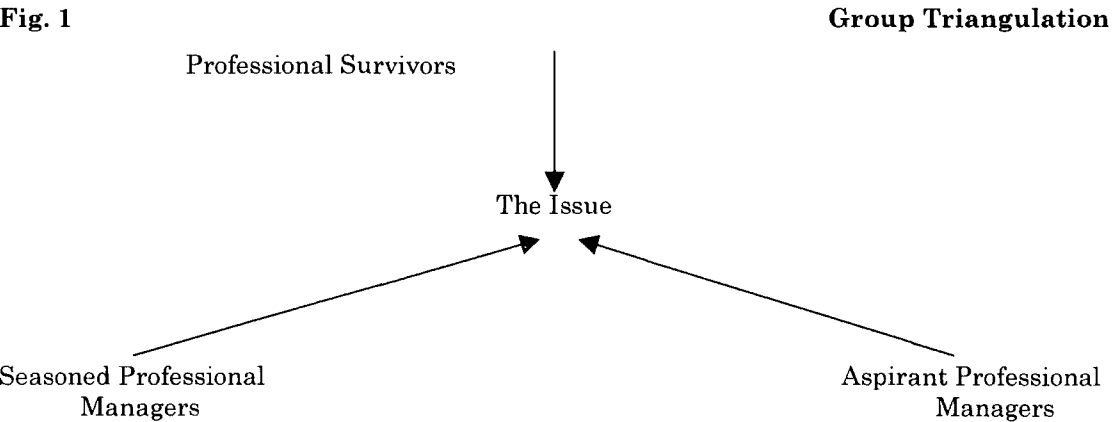
consistent appearance in various guises, to provide a fix on both the thoughts and focus of the respondent

Methodological Overview and Thoughts on Objectivity and Subjectivity

In determining the most appropriate methodology it is necessary to give some thought to both the subject of the Thesis and the means by which it is tested. It is helpful to remember the intuitive conclusion that stealth is a necessary component in the make up of a methodological solution to test contextual awareness and related issues. In addition to intuitive feelings about the need for stealth, which implies an indirect approach of some sort, there is also a sense that research will be necessary among construction professionals who have benefited from significant levels of experience in management positions. These professional elders it is proposed to compliment with construction professionals who, though less experienced, are nonetheless embarking on a stage of their careers which begins to involve a move towards involvement in management activity.

The first group, it is suggested, could be grouped under the sobriquet: Seasoned Professional Managers; and the second under Aspirant Professional Managers. Also, and following the triangulation theme, it may be useful to take a backbearing into Ruttleshire and seek out thoughts and opinions from their Professional Survivors of that process. There is an additional justification for the use of this particular triangulation. The Professional Survivors in Ruttleshire can contribute having experienced significant change at first hand - the change that triggered the seed question. The Seasoned Professional Managers can contribute their experiences of parallel change processes. The Aspirant Professional Managers can contribute a fresher view of roles, relationships and attitudes one decade on. A view back, a view around and a view forward.

Fig. 1



In taking the research forward there is a balance to be struck between objectivity and subjectivity, since values and attitudes and reactions are bound up in the issue. From an objective standpoint it is clearly a comfort to believe that there is a model of truth or rationality against which we can test our theory or idea – rather in the same way that there is a brass metre in Paris or a quartz clock in the Smithsonian Institute. A form of ultimate arbiter. May pointed out, however, whilst objectivity may be considered a basic tenet of science (along with generalisation and explanation) he moved on to say that *“However, if we are to hold the view that social science research offers us knowledge about the social world which is not necessarily available by other means, then we are making some privileged claim about our work”* May (1997, p9). In many ways this underlines the explanatory nature of research and its ability to generate new theories which, if objective, do not inject values.

It is arguable, however, that it is not possible to isolate values since, as May questioned, *“On the other hand, the subject matter of the social sciences is social life itself. People are obviously fundamental to social life and the question is now raised that as social researchers and as members of a society, is it possible or desirable for us to suspend our sense of belonging?”* May (1997, p9). However, if we take the view that realism is an aspect of subjectivity, in the sense that peoples thoughts, attitudes and reactions are both a product of how they live and can make a valid contribution to our view of the subject, then subjectivity can play a useful role in forming a rounded view of the issue.

That said, in terms of many aspects of social research, we can only rely on individual's interpretation of the world in which they live. The injection of subjectivity through social conditioning is, therefore, not only useful to social research in the sense that realism is injected, but it is also realistic in the sense that it is unavoidable. There are lessons here which have demonstrable relevance in determining both the Methodology and Approach and its limitations and constraints. If it is accepted that the social researcher must accept a position as part of the social process, rather than as unattached observer of it, then this impacts in two different ways. Firstly, it allows us to draw together the elements of research aimed at understanding and the elements of social research aimed at explanation. Or as Habermas (1990) described it, the *‘how’* and *‘why’* of social research.

Secondly, it enables us to take a balanced and less pejorative view about the insinuation of values into social research. But, and it's a big but, we do need to understand a little of the *‘how’* and *‘why’* of values and the judgements which flow from these values. May saw the researcher as needing to understand value judgements in the sense of what is meant by

value judgements and, once that understanding is in place, to proceed to consider the ways that values can enter the research process. May also saw the need to look at the relationship between values and research – although, because the interaction is both constant and flexible, and itself subject to value judgements, this may not be without its pitfalls.

Turning to the first question – what are value judgements, May provided us with a working definition and a question: *“In our everyday conversations and judgements, we make statements of two kinds: positive and normative. One idea of science prides itself on the ability to separate statements of what does happen (positive) and what scientists would like to happen (normative)”* May (1993, p45).

The question May asked implicitly revolves around the issue of whether, in practice, it is possible to separate the positive from the normative. Here, the words ‘in practice’ provide the key which unlocks the substance of the argument, which presumes that since social science is constantly moving and following social phenomena, all that can be achieved is a snapshot at a given time. This snapshot will capture a mixture of positive and normative values, which will have emerged on the basis of judgements made before the snapshot and considered by those basing *their* judgements after the snapshot. So, if the positive and normative distinction is clouded by doubt, what of self-interest? The myth that social researchers pursue truth rather than interest is dispelled by Bourdieu (1993), who asserted firmly that the neutrality in research is *‘fatuous’* and it is *‘interest’* rather than *‘truth’* which provides motivation.

May, acknowledging the problems with neutral values, saw real differences in defending the scientifically neutral position. In this he was powerfully supported by Weber, Habermas and others who argued that it is belief born of faith, rather than belief born of scientific knowledge, which generate values. Moreover, is it not the selection of the research topic which flows from the first exercise of value judgement? It is, however, clear that, despite the circular nature of the debate, the existence of value judgements and the inextricable character of the link between those value judgements and the research, necessitates care and understanding on the part of those involved in researching.

Research Method Options, The Sample and Practical Considerations

It is now timely to review options available in research methods. May (1997) identified a number of options, including *Comparative Research*, *Participant Observation* and use of *Official Statistics*. However, given the subject of this Thesis, there is a natural predilection to examine the *Questionnaire* and the *Interview* as a basis for taking the topic forward, since there are no official statistics covering the topic, there is no comparator/data and observation of participants in their 'natural habitats' would, to say the least, be bizarre - with permission unlikely (given the element of commercial and political sensitivity) and, if access granted, the likely moderation of behaviour.

The *Questionnaire*, by definition, asks questions which, in the case of this Thesis, will be designed to explain attitudes in the context of questions about behaviour. Also, and significantly, the design of the survey – because it is pre-planned – will necessarily be constructed on the basis of a conjecture or theory.

Implicit in the survey is the confirmation, or otherwise, of an idea. In the case of a questionnaire, because of the lack of iteration, there is little opportunity to revisit the idea or test the theory en-route. So, more often than not, one outcome of a questionnaire will be to raise a number of other questions. That said, the discipline of a questionnaire and the ability to test representativeness, bias in questions and so forth, does grant some useful advantage in terms of validating (and, if necessary, repeating) the research. It is also fair to say that the more complex the issue the more difficult it becomes to design meaningful and unambiguous questions. This is particularly relevant to this Thesis where clarity of definition of certain terms, classifications and language itself will be an issue.

Perhaps of more significance is the potential subordination of understanding to measurement and the problem of standardisation, since the answer is automatically fitted into a framework but the voice of the environment influencing the attitude and values behind the answer remains silent. Moreover, respondents do not necessarily have the opportunity to give texture to their answers or test the validity of the phrasing of the question. Or as May put it "how can survey researchers guarantee that their questions will be interpreted by the respondent in the manner in which they intended when there is no opportunity for a participatory dialogue in order to reach understanding?" May (1997, p93). On the other hand, the *Interview* is also not without its pitfalls. Possibly the most obvious pitfall in interviewing is the potential for tension between the objective and the subjective.

As May said *"on the one hand, interviews are said by many to elicit knowledge free of prejudice or bias; on the other, a self-conscious awareness must be maintained in order to let the interview flow"* May (1997, p114).

However, it could be that the greater tension could flow from the need to establish rapport between the interviewer and the interviewed, whilst at the same time maintaining academic detachment. Moser (1969) described the *"dangers of over-rapport"*. Gearing and Dant (1990) talked of a *"balancing act"* and Cicourel (1964) saw *"standardized"* relations with the subject as a means of improving likelihood of reliability. At first glance interviewer bias or opinion would seem to be a strong contender as a cause of data distortion. However, Moser (referring to Hyman's studies in the 1950's) identified interviewer's expectations as more significant. *"One of the most interesting findings from the studies was that interviewer effects often arose, not so much from the interviewer's social and personal characteristics or ideology as from their expectations of the respondent's views and behaviour"* Moser (1969, p251).

Indeed, Moser moved on to identify two significant types of expectation related errors. The first related to expectations about attitude and structure, where the interviewer injects consistency into the responses by interpreting later answers to conform with perceptions of interviewees attitude gleaned in earlier responses. The second related to role expectations where the interviewer gains an early impression of the kind of person being interviewed and, faced with ambiguous or doubtful responses, interprets them in the light of the answers expected from this type of person.

Could it be, however, that pragmatism could, and should, provide the key to choice of principal research method? Moser, for example, is strident in his call for thought and reflection in research *"It is no good, for instance, blindly to apply the formal standardised research methods generally used in official or market research enquiries, to many of the more complex problems in which sociologists are interested. Sometimes good judgement requires deliberate sacrifice of quantitative precision for the greater depth attainable by more intensive methods of attack"* Moser (1969, p3). Notably, May provided a final cautionary thought in the context of appropriate methodology *"Researchers therefore have a duty to themselves and others to reflect upon and acknowledge both the strengths and weaknesses of the different methods they employ"* May (1997, p130).

Prior to moving on to a consideration of some of the practical aspects of the methodology it is necessary to give some thought to the sample to be researched, since the choice (or

availability) of sample will condition the approach. There are three discrete groups of professionals - architects, engineers and surveyors - and there are three distinct areas on which to focus the research - Professional Survivor, Seasoned Professional Managers and Aspirant Professional Managers.

In terms of the Professional Survivors, research is required of Ruttleshire staff who witnessed the change process in its entirety - from start to finish. By definition these will now be more senior members of staff, since the start of the process began around 1990 and they are still in post some ten years later. Interestingly (and perhaps elegantly) the sample would likely comprise individuals who would be considered Aspirant at outset and Seasoned at conclusion and would need to be representative of each of the three professions.

Turning to our Seasoned Professionals, here we are looking for a sample, balanced by profession, who can contribute from a perspective enhanced by high level management experience built on professional foundations. These will be individuals who have substantial local authority experience - this may be exceptionally in a client capacity. They will also, it is likely, have had some experience of work in or for the private sector, since there is considerable movement between public and private organisations for these three professions. This reflects the fact that these professions were imported into local government, rather than being a creation of it.

The Aspirant Professional Managers, on the other hand, will all currently be working in local government - although they may have spent some time in other organisations. These architects, engineers and surveyors will be at a stage in their careers where they are beginning to think about a step into the management of a department or have recently made a move or gained a promotion to such a position.

There are clearly some issues of practicality which will need addressing. Much depends on the vehicles available for the research but when choice is restricted, for practical as well as other reasons, to either interview or questionnaire, then the choice simplifies. The concern about questionnaires tends to find focus in problems of achieving a meaningful response. The concern about interviews, however, tends to revolve around cost and time.

In terms of a meaningful response to questionnaires, it is not simply about response rates. It is also about iteration, rigidity of form and denial of opportunities to explore avenues of



interest exposed en-route. That said, a well designed questionnaire does offer significant advantages in time and resource terms.

Interviews are, generally speaking, preferable (May, Moser et al), but may not be affordable. They also take time. The issues concerning the cost of interviews and the time involved are clearly relevant. However, given the compact world of construction related professions, the opportunities to combine research work with general intelligence gathering and development of work opportunities and the need to maintain personal contact with individuals to share experiences, does create a rare opportunity to both offset the cost and justify the time involved in researching the subject this way. However, before seizing the lowered cost/time justified route to interview based research, it is prudent to run a check to see whether the conditions exist to indicate a successful method choice.

May, drawing on work by Moser and others, suggested there are three necessary conditions for the successful completion of interviews. The first necessary condition is described as that of *Accessibility*. Here the researcher is concerned to ensure that the person responding to the interviewer's questions has access to the right information.

The second necessary condition is *Cognition*, or as May put it "*an understanding by the person being interviewed of what is required of him or her in the role of interviewee.*" This will also require clarification in a general sense by way of a structured introduction and in a more particular sense, depending on type of interview proposed.

The third necessary condition is that of *Motivation*. Here, the problem is not so much answering May and Moser's concern about making sure interviewees' contributions are valued, but more about making sure that the interviewees understand the relevance of the research to their profession and their work.

However, prior to drawing some conclusions about the appropriateness of interviews to this research project, it is first necessary to form a view about the merits and demerits of the various types of interview. In determining the type of interview there are four main options available, although it is fair to say that whilst at first sight there may appear to be a strict demarcation between each type, in practice there is the opportunity to blend and mix if it is considered appropriate. May's assertion that there is a richness and insight about people's experiences, opinions, aspirations, attitudes and feelings to be had from interviews is reassuring, but the degree to which the richness of those insights will be maximised must be

conditioned by achieving the optimum type of interview. The four main types are as follows, structured interview; unstructured (or focused) interview; semi-structured interview and group interview.

However, given the dubious relevance of a *Group Interview* in this context, and the practical problems associated with its organisation, it is concluded that the real choice lies between the first three.

The *Structured Interview* relies, as its name implies, on the interviewees sequentially answering the same questions put in the same way. This ensures, as far as possible, comparability, and good design will try to eliminate the need for elaboration and explanation on the part of the interviewer whose neutrality is emphasised. The *Structured Interview* is well suited to large numbers and complex statistical analysis. It is most commonly used in telephone surveys and by interviewers with clip-boards in shopping centres.

The *Unstructured Interview* is often referred to as the Informal Interview and is clearly open to criticism as a research technique, due to risks of degeneration into an unfocused chat. May, however, talked about this method of achieving a greater understanding of the interviewees opinion and he views this form of interview as providing “*qualitative depth by allowing interviewees to talk about the subject in terms of their own frame of reference – drawing upon ideas and meanings with which they are familiar. This allows the meanings that individuals attribute to events and relationships to be understood on their own terms*” May (1997, p112). It is this qualitative and flexible pursuit of meaning which stimulates a natural attraction of researchers toward this method of interview.

The *Semi-Structured Interview* is a mixture of the Structured and Unstructured (as its name implies), since, although it relies on a basic standardised list of questions, it does allow and encourage the interview to explore beyond the formal framework. It is acknowledged that standardisation and comparability is prejudiced, but not sacrificed, and people are permitted to respond with greater freedom within a structure which gives some comfort that the subject is being covered in broadly similar ways from one interview to the next.

The General Research Method Approach

In reaching a conclusion about the most appropriate research method, the researcher enjoys the luxury of a range of choice. It is possible to select an approach to suit each of the three different perspectives - a triangulated attack. In choosing an approach to the Professional Survivors, it is recognised that these are few in number - likely two from each profession. Concerns about resources fade against this backdrop and the opportunity to interview is tempting. But, what sort of interview? Here the conclusion is that a Semi-Structured Interview would be most appropriate, since it would provide the advantage of a number of standard questions, whilst at the same time allowing further exploration.

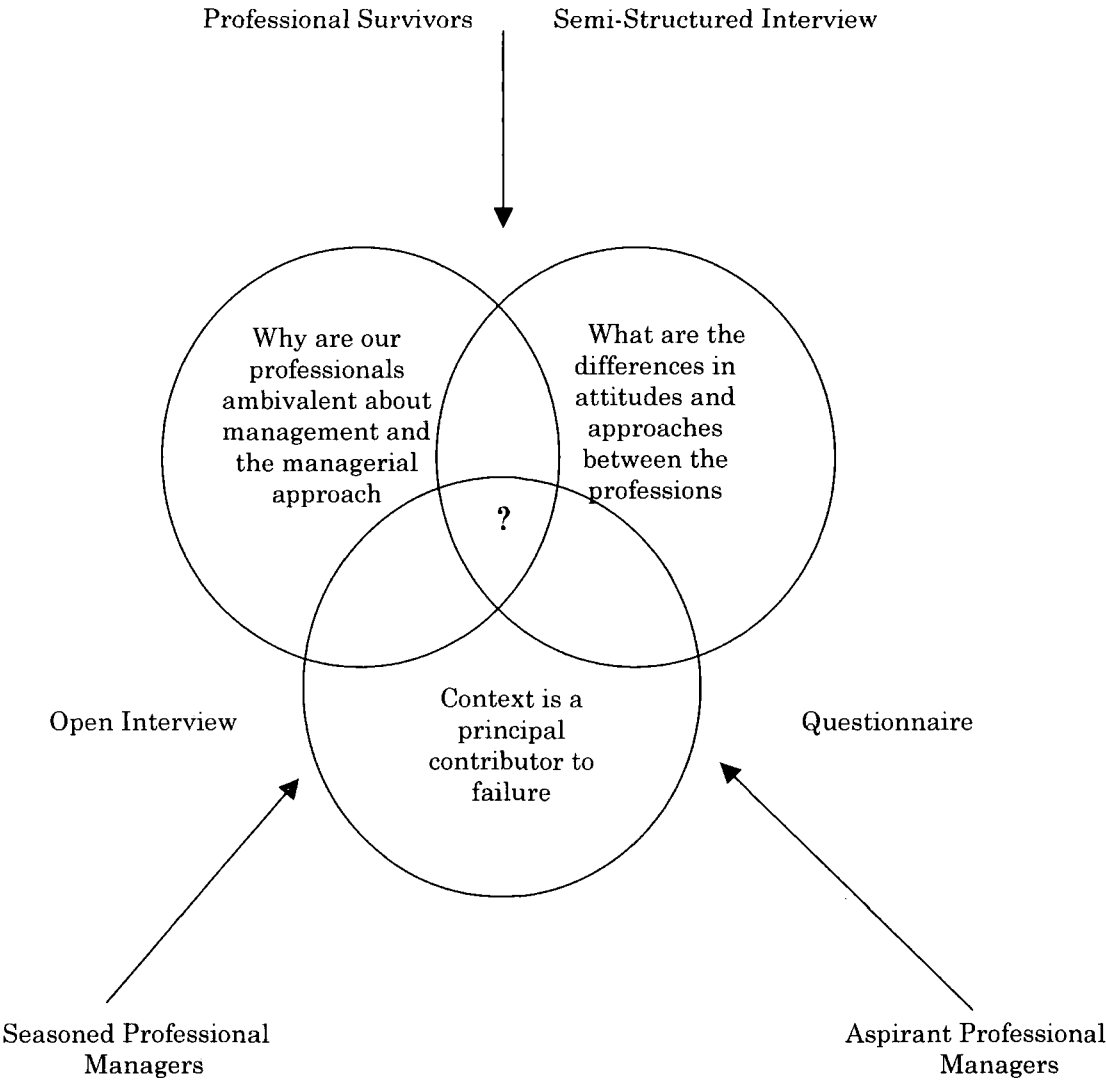
Our Seasoned Professionals on the other hand could be greater in number and whilst it is tempting to 'go large', the feeling is that to keep the numbers down to facilitate preservation of the interview option would be desirable. Given the spread of potential interviewees across England, the maximum number is likely to be no more than eighteen - six from each profession. Given the gift of the availability for interview, the preference would be to use open interviewing - to maximise both the likelihood of participation (it could be badged as an informal discussion about matters of mutual interest) and the opportunities for a reiterative exploration.

In terms of our Aspirant Professionals, it would be useful to have numbers in the teens from each profession - a sizeable sample from one of the triangulation points would enhance the validity of the research. This, coupled to the geographic spread of potential contributors suggests use of questionnaire.

So, in terms of the general approach, we have a triangulated methodology which could be reflected diagrammatically as follows:-

Fig. 2

Triangulated Methodology



Having refined the research question and confirmed the methodological approach to the research question and identified sample types, the detailed methodology and empirical testing proposals will follow in the next chapter.

At the heart of the research question is the aspiration (?) that lessons or pointers will emerge for the management development of our professionals.

CHAPTER 6 - THE EMPIRICAL TEST

Introduction

The research question and its three component parts, is now confirmed as is the general methodological approach and sample type. What remains to be established is the detail of the empirical test, including the detail of the questions underpinning the research, the detail of the sample for each of the three perspectives and the practicalities of achieving a meaningful response. Importantly, and as illustrated figuratively at the end of the last Chapter, there are links and overlaps and this will need recognition in the detailed methodology which, together with the approach to sampling is the subject of this Chapter. The backbearing into Ruttleshire is dealt with first, followed by the peer group of Seasoned Professional Managers with the Questionnaire to Aspirants following on. This will allow each stage in the process to inform the next and so preserve continuity as well as facilitate disciplined progress.

The Meaning of Context

Prior to setting down the detail of the triangulated methodology, there is a need to pause and reflect on the meaning of context as it relates to this Thesis. If, as it is asserted, context (or rather a lack of understanding of it) is a principal contributor to a reluctance to engage with managerial issues among our professionals, then a clear understanding of what is meant by context is a prerequisite for a meaningful conclusion.

At an explicit level and as evidenced in the literature, case study and the vignettes (which, although anecdotal, do contribute as a form of parallel sociological commentary) context is about the environment within or backcloth against which our professionals frame problems and offer solutions. It is about the recognition (or perhaps lack of it) that professionals accord to the wider world of influences and sensitivities surrounding their everyday work and practice.

At an implicit level it is also about sensing the mood or tuning in to the sub-text of issues. To understand the hierarchy of compromise which can surround an issue. In a sense this reinforces the intuitive decision not to directly focus on context since explicit pursuit may drown out a softer and implicit quarry.

Nor is there necessarily a clear distinction between the implicit and the explicit. This distinction may be naturally blurred by the seamless web of interactions, the existence of which is reinforced by the Latin derivation of the word context (textum - to weave). It may also be confused by the natural friction which reduces efficient communication, since some individuals can recognise nuances and subtleties others remain blind to. This is a communication or language issue and is very much part of context, albeit at an intuitive or subliminal level.

In detailing the methodology, therefore, care is taken to encourage responses which can provide a flavour of the attitudes and languages of our professionals - when considering managers and managerial issues and of each other and colleague professionals. The detailed methodology must respect the complexity and multi-layered subtleties of the meaning of context if it is to enhance the depth and colour of its conclusions.

This is particularly important when considering the approach adopted in respect of our Aspirants. We see in the development of the Thesis that context was also relevant in terms of the attitudes and mindsets our professionals bring with them. This reflects the suggestion that context is both externally and internally relevant and it is not possible, or helpful, to suggest that attitudes are formed outwith, or unrelated to, personal experience. It may also provide an insight into attitudes of our Aspirant Professionals undistorted by a direct approach. When mindset is explored in conjunction with orientation (as both a check and balance) it allows the examination of language issues, a recurring theme, to be considered with contextual awareness.

Detailed Methodology - Professional Survivors

In the last Chapter it was proposed that a small group of Ruttleshire Survivors would be identified in order to establish their view which must be tempered by proximity to the significant changes experienced at first hand and brought out in the case study. Practicalities suggested that this sample would be necessarily small and use would be made of a semi-structured interview.

In practice, the identified Architects (numbering two) determined the shape of the sample which to ensure balance was six in total and also comprised two Engineers and two Surveyors. Also, and fortuitously, the most senior non-construction professional, whose views were quoted on page 13 of the first Chapter, the Case Study, agreed to contribute his

hindsight enhanced views. He is therefore the seventh interviewee and the open interview is an approach with which he was most comfortable, although the focus is clearly determined by the issue, there was merit in pursuing a direct rather than an oblique line on context, since his observation was from a semi-detached position.

In terms of the structured element of the semi-structured interview a number of identical questions were put to each interviewee to provide both a common starting agenda and to provide a trigger for wider discussion. The direction of the attack was designed to approach the issue indirectly and to focus on their views about motivation for change and their attitude to management. This would necessarily trigger a response to each component of the research question.

The formal (structured) questions put were as follows. The follow up questions on supplemental issues are shown in brackets after the questions.

- Looking back over the changes which have taken place, to what extent do you think these changes are cosmetic? (Why do you say that?)
- To what extent were the drivers for change set around the need to address inefficiencies and competition issues? (Are there any other drivers?)
- To what extent has a managerial approach been a positive influence? (Have professionals given ground to managers?)
- To what extent have changes been required to professional training and practice to reflect changes in the Local Authority? (Should there be a greater emphasis on management development of professionals?)
- To what extent do you think that professional institutions have become outmoded? (Why is that?)

In terms of the formal (structured) questions, the six respondents were asked to respond on a scale of 1 to 10 (where 10 = strongly agree).

In terms of the seventh interviewee the discussion revolved around his response to the 1990 consultation which is reproduced below for ease of reference.

"The role of the Practice is defined in the discussion note in terms of functions by profession. Whilst the professional skills have been the greatest asset of the Department, the attitudes engendered within the separate professions have been one of its greatest weaknesses. The Department has never been conceived of a single unit within the Department itself, except by a very few, and the aims and objectives of the Department as a whole have been subverted by the aims and objectives of the individual professions. This issue was raised by the Director at recent discussions, but any movement away from a professional based structure was strenuously opposed. I therefore consider it unfortunate that the report, and particularly the diagrams, are based on professional groupings; structures should relate to the aims and objectives of the two new Departments, and in the case of the Practice, I think it should be client orientated. I fear that if the Practice is structured in professional groups, it will simply carry on the tradition of a collection of separate professional practices, and any benefits accruing from a large multi-disciplinary practice will be lost – in fact its very existence as one unit would be in question."

Outcomes and analysis in terms of the research question are reported in the following Chapter.

Detailed Methodology - Seasoned Professional Managers

In the last Chapter it was proposed that a maximum of eighteen interviewees were selected and that on balance an open interview would be the most appropriate backcloth against which to tease out responses.

In the event the selection of candidates for interview was a curious mixture of relative ease in attracting Engineers and compensating difficulty in locating Architects. The main criteria for selection (after willingness to give of their time and to participate) was that the individual had first hand experience of both practising as a professional and managing professionals in a senior capacity in local government, coupled to a willingness to engage with the issues.

The dramatis personae is anonymised as follows:-

Architects

<i>Arthur</i>	-	a retired County Architect
<i>Lancelot</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government
<i>Galahad</i>	-	a Practitioner in Local Government
<i>Gawaine</i>	-	a Senior Practitioner in Local Government
<i>Tristram</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government
<i>Percival</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government

Lancelot, Galahad, Gawaine and Tristram have extensive experience in both public and private sectors.

Engineers

<i>Bismarck</i>	-	a Chief Officer in Local Government
<i>Palmerston</i>	-	a senior public sector civil engineering manager
<i>Metternick</i>	-	a local director of an international civil engineering consultancy
<i>Kissinger</i>	-	a retired Borough Engineer
<i>Richlieu</i>	-	a senior director of an international civil engineering consultancy
<i>Garibaldi</i>	-	a senior local government consulting manager

Bismarck, Metternick, Richlieu and Garibaldi have extensive experience in both public and private sectors.

Surveyors

<i>Wellington</i>	-	a Senior Partner in Private Sector
<i>Marlborough</i>	-	a Senior Partner in Private Practice
<i>Patten</i>	-	a Chief Officer in Local Government
<i>Napoleon</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government
<i>Rommel</i>	-	a Senior Practitioner in Local Government
<i>Zhukov</i>	-	a Senior Practitioner in Local Government

Wellington, Marlborough, Patten and Zhukov have extensive experience in both public and private sectors.

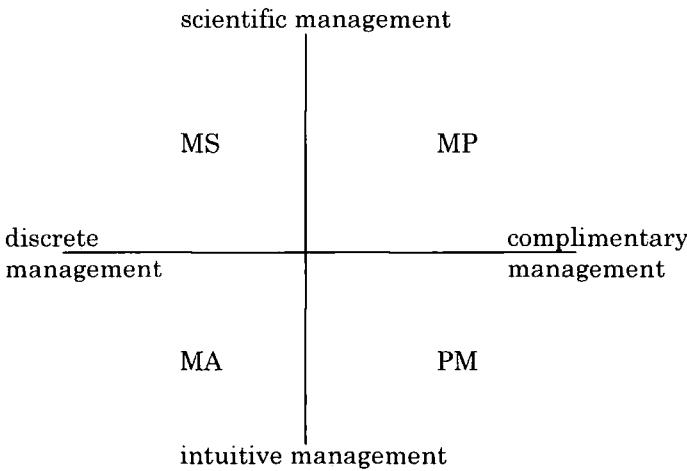
In terms of the mechanism or framework by which the interviewees were encouraged to share their views and opinions, there was a sense that it needs to be both recognisable and at the same time flexible - such that exploration is encouraged. There was also a feeling that discipline would be necessary (as indeed it was) such that each interviewee was encouraged to respond to a pre-prepared question - to bring the interview from a common start point. The mechanism or framework chosen was a matrix comprising two continuums. The first continuum sees a range of opinions on whether, on balance, professionalism and managerialism are discrete and ideologically different or complimentary modes of working.

The second continuum sees a range of opinions as to whether, on balance, situations (problems) are resolved through deployment of soft skills or hard skills. This continuum posits the notion that most professional and managerial work is, at its heart, about problem-solving and that soft skills are about attitudes to and framing the problem and hard skills are about technical expertise and process and solving the problem. It is arguable (and certainly practicable) to describe the hard/soft/process/people distinctions as science and arts.

The rectitude of this broad approach is justified by the ability deriving from it to explore the ambivalence to management and the managerial approach and contextual awareness and reflection part and parcel with the opportunity to identify differences in style and response one profession with another. It helpfully allows a mapping of responses in four quadrants and does in turn provide a trigger for further discussion.

Fig. 3

Opinions Matrix



These quadrants would tend to describe (loosely) the Management Scientist (MS), the Management Artist (MA), the Managing Professional (MP) and the Professional Manager (PM).

Interestingly, early general developmental soundings with colleagues from a variety of backgrounds about the draft matrix brought forth a number of observations, queries and comments. The majority of the weighty discussion concerned the continuum which was anchored at one end by 'Scientific Management'. There was little concern about the Management Discrete – Management Complimentary continuum in principle, although commentators were troubled by the likelihood of the need for explanation (as well as being

troubled by an acceptance on the part of the researcher, that this need for explanation was a good thing). The concerns about the vertical continuum began following the use of the term 'People Management' to describe the opposite to Scientific Management. After some discussion a modification to Artistic Management was agreed and the research proceeded amongst colleagues to gauge reactions, whereon the term Intuitive Management was judged to be a more appropriate (and understandable) description of the process at the other end of the continuum.

These early soundings also drew out reactions from colleagues which clearly pointed to a need for refinement in language as well as a potential lack of sophistication in the matrix. The identified lack of sophistication was helpful in reassuring the researcher that a discussion would develop out of the matrix.

In terms of the ice-breaker question it was standardised as "*whether and in what way was the matrix recognisable to you?*" It was followed by "*what seems to be emerging are two alternative views by professionals of management activity. The first view tends towards the idea that managerial activity is part and parcel of professional activity. The second view tends to see professional and managerial activity as complimentary but discrete and separate. Clearly, there are many shades of opinion in between and this could be shown on a continuum.*" Analysis of the responses from this group in terms of the research question follow in Chapter 8.

Detailed Methodology - Aspirant Professional Managers

The last Chapter sees this leg of the triangulated methodology focussing on our Aspirant Professional Managers. They are professionals currently working in local government who have either recently gained a promotion into management or are contemplating such a move. Unlike the previous two triangulated legs of enquiry, here we are using a questionnaire and aim to involve larger numbers of respondents.

Turning to the perhaps more complex issue of professionals and management and how best to examine context and its related aspects of language, recognition, categorisation and prioritisation of management activity, with a particular emphasis on its relationship with professional activity, the aim is to tease out responses to a specific series of questions designed to focus on the research question from the contextual perspective in three ways: mindset, orientation and language. A view about the differences between the professions

will evolve from the responses, although ambivalence towards management and managerial approach will be less significant, since if it emerges from this group it will be less likely to be based on experience and more likely be based on perception given the less advanced career stage most of our respondents will draw on.

Gerpott, Domsch and Keller's (1988) questionnaire provides a useful start point, as it seeks to determine managerial and/or professional orientation capable of plotting on a High High, High Low, Low High, Low Low basis (and this wide range of orientation has been demonstrated in the context of engineers by Aryee and Leong in 1991).

The Gerpott and colleagues questionnaire asked eight questions, four seeking to establish the degree of managerial orientation (five point scale) and four the degree of professional orientation (again 5 points), as follows and in response to the question : "*how important is it to you to*":

- make a contribution to a body of scientific and technical knowledge?
- establish a reputation as an outstanding professional?
- publish results of significant research findings?
- be evaluated on the basis of scientific and technical skills?
- be evaluated on the basis of management skills?
- advance to the upper levels of management?
- develop and utilise management skills?
- help the company enhance its economic success?

Given that the target audience for this questionnaire was based in the private sector and had emphasis in research and development, it is necessary to consider changes to better reflect the construction professions in local government employment. So, drawing on Gerpott and colleagues broad themes of contribution, evaluation, recognition and achievement, it is possible to redirect the focus by asking "*how important is it to you to*":

- make a contribution to the improvement in standard of the built environment?
- enhance the reputation of the local authority?
- be evaluated on the basis of professional and technical skills?
- be evaluated on the basis of managerial skills?
- establish a reputation as an outstanding professional?
- advance to the upper levels of management?

- contribution to the workings of a representative body?
- develop and utilise management skills?

Herriot and Pemberton (1995) wrote about the mental frameworks of professionals and general managers, which they see as *“markedly different; so much so that it is amazing that so many professionals succeed in making the transition successfully”*.

Professionals they see:

- working in defined problem areas
- using both action and theory based knowledge
- seeking esteem from colleague professionals
- developing careers in the context of increasing knowledge and expertise
- looking for optimum solutions
- preferring rationality

General Managers they see:

- working in unlimited problem areas
- using action knowledge only
- seeking esteem from satisfied customers
- developing careers in the context of increasing power and responsibility
- looking for workable solutions
- justifying intuition

In terms of attitudes of professionals and managers, Herriot & Pemberton's (1995) framework is relevant in the context of where each seeks esteem, in terms of personal career evaluation and the knowledge/expertise or power/responsibility, in determining the rectitude of pragmatic or principled solutions to problems.

So, potentially, we can see eight statements (in pairs) going to managerial-professional orientation focussing on contribution, evaluation, loyalty and achievement

Additionally, we can see eight statements going to mindset, focussing on sources of esteem, importance of qualifications, variety, job satisfaction and process -v- pragmatism. The difference here, however, is that rather than looking at mindsets of professionals and managers we are seeking to see what mindset a professional adopts in respect of managerial activity.

A constant tool used throughout this Thesis is that of triangulation, which is used by surveyors to accurately fix objects – usually in space. For the purposes of the Thesis, triangulation has been used to ‘fix’ issues by looking in from three perspectives. The remaining perspective, drawn down or distilled from the body of the Thesis, is one of language. This can be explored in the ways in which professionals react to managerial tasks. The triangular ‘fix’ can be made by utilising Gerpott and colleagues orientation and Herriot & Pemberton’s (1995)’s mental framework or mindset. Thus we are looking from the perspectives of Language/Reaction, Orientation and Mindset.

The approach, rather than seeking answers to questions, which may create problems or difficulties in certain areas – particularly in seeking reactions and testing language – it is proposed to seek responses to statements. It is also proposed, in response to statements, to rate on a six point scale as follows:-

- 1. strongly agree
- 2. agree
- 3. tend to agree
- 4. tend to disagree
- 5. disagree
- 6. strongly disagree

The reactions to the statement on the agree – disagree scale will create a pattern of reactions. It will be interesting to see if there is a pattern to these patterns. The triangular ‘fix’ of the statements will flow from a reaction to the following:-

Language/Reaction	-	meaning
		recognition
		categorisation
		prioritisation
Orientation	-	contribution
		evaluation
		loyalty
		achievement

Mindset	-	job satisfaction
		qualification
		sources of esteem
		process or pragmatism

There is a wider range on the language/reaction issue because the responses here will tend to flow from orientation and mindset (which could be regarded as fixed points in our triangulation) and it is helpful to provide a larger scale upon which to plot responses. Also, this will enable a stealthy and more informed approach to context as well as enhance understanding of ambivalence to management and the managerial approach and highlight any differences between our professions.

Language/Reaction Statements - It is important to me :

- to have time and cost targets
- to keep the paperwork up to date
- to plan and prioritise work
- to decide on priorities for tasks
- to anticipate clients requirements
- to keep an overview of the whole process
- to understand colleagues work problems
- to have authority over the team
- to monitor individuals performance
- to lead by example
- to decide who does what and when
- to provide a source of motivation
- to communicate the big picture
- to keep discipline
- to train and develop colleagues
- to determine quality standards

Orientation Statements - It is important to me :

- to contribute to the workings of a professional body
- to contribute to improving the built environment
- to enhance the reputation of my local authority

- to be evaluated on the basis of my professional/technical skills
- to advance to the upper levels of management
- to be evaluated on the basis of my management skills
- to establish a reputation as an outstanding professional
- to develop and utilise recognised management skills

Mindset Statements - It is important to me :

- to gain the approval of my line manager
- to gain approval of my colleague professionals
- to work on one task or project to completion
- to have a variety of projects or tasks on the go
- to have formal professional qualifications
- to understand the full detail and complexity of the task in hand
- to make principled, rather than pragmatic, decisions and not to compromise
- to have management training.

Analysis of the responses from this group, which tend to focus in from the mindset/orientation/language aspect in pursuit of context, follow in Chapter 9.

Looking Forward

Insofar as the triangulated literature based research described and discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four comprise a form of trilogy, so the following three Chapters, Seven, Eight and Nine comprise a form of trilogy or triangulated reporting of outcomes from the three sample groups. In Chapter Seven the responses from our Professional Survivors will be reported and analysed, followed by our Seasoned Professional Managers in Chapter Eight, with Chapter Nine devoted to our Aspirant Professional Managers. In each case the analysis is from a single perspective, that is to say each Chapter stands by itself, which approach necessitates the reserving of the three way rounded analysis for the final Chapter, Ten. Save insofar as the analysis of context issues emerging in Chapters Seven and Eight will be deferred pending analysis of Chapter Nine to provide a form of retrospective check/balance on backbearing.

Importantly, the nature of the experience of each of the sample groups is likely to create a subtly different emphasis for each of the following three Chapters. Chapter Seven, looking

to Ruttlethire, will look more towards the ambivalence issue, Chapter Eight, interviewing Seasoned Professionals, will provide greater insight into the differences between our professionals, and Chapter Nine, our Aspirants, is clearly targeted at context issues. Notwithstanding this likely emphasis, each Chapter will contribute to the research question as a whole.

CHAPTER 7 - OUTCOMES AND ANALYSIS : PROFESSIONAL SURVIVORS

Introduction

This Chapter is the first of three Chapters devoted to reporting the outcomes from the sample groups and its analysis. In this case the sample group comprised six Ruttlethire professionals, two from each profession, who were interviewed on a semi-structured basis. The formal questions, which were five in number, together with the identified avenues to follow up or supplementary questions, are set down in Chapter 6. These questions and the responses provide the broad framework for setting down both outcomes and analysis in the context of the research question with an emphasis on ambivalence of professionals to management and the managerial approach.

In addition to the six construction professionals, the opportunity was taken to interview the most senior non-construction professional who contributed to the original Property Services Consultation in 1990.

Outcomes

Looking back over the changes which have taken place, to what extent do you think these changes are cosmetic? (Why do you say that)

There was a strong consensus view across all the individuals that the changes were deep seated and not cosmetic with 'straight twos' underlining the homogeneity of the response. There was also a broad agreement as to why this was so, with a marked transformation being triggered by a stronger emphasis on client needs and an adoption of private sector attitudes following the need to compete for work previously given as of right. This concentration on customer focus and competition was seen more in terms of improvements in service quality rather than in terms of cost reductions and efficiencies. Interestingly the language used to describe the status quo was around paperwork, administration, bureaucracy and traditional approaches, which were seen as being replaced by a private sector management style. It was viewed by all the professionals as a survival issue. Interestingly the main concern expressed by both architects and engineers flowed from a perceived loss of professional autonomy consequent upon a transfer of loyalty from the Council to end users.

To what extent were the drivers for change set around the need to address inefficiencies and competition issues? (Are there any other drivers?)

Here the consensus broke down among our professionals. Whilst our architects (average 8) were strongly in agreement about competition and inefficiency, the engineers (on 5) were unpersuaded. Our surveyors held the middle ground. What shone through the responses from one of the engineers was a palpable reaction against the accusation of inefficiency and a clear view that much of the motivation for change came from a politically motivated position unjustified by the evidence. On the other hand, and from other contributors, there was an acceptance that Local Government Services could not be isolated from the need to provide value for money. There seemed to be no connection drawn between the public's desire for improved services (whether qualitative or quantitative) and the politicians' exhortations to be more efficient and effective.

To what extent has a managerial approach been a positive influence? (Have professionals given ground to managers?)

There was consensus here about the impact of a managerial approach, as was there about the degree to which professionals had given ground to managers. The consensus could not be carried further as, whilst managerial impact was positive with architects saying it was (7,8), engineers were less than impressed (4,5). The architects and, to a lesser extent, surveyors saw the increased input end users could have on design and maintenance decisions as a positive step. The downside being a reduction of emphasis on longer term issues. The longer term issues were clearly seen as professional priorities and the end user influences (particularly in schools) was seen as a short term managerial imperative.

In terms of professionals giving ground to managers this was seen by all six as a loss of autonomy and an irritating (and unnecessary) parallel questioning of processes and decisions. There was also a fairly consistent view that managers were brought in or created as a response to outside pressure and there appeared to be no genuine acceptance that managers were a good thing - other than in satisfying a current and fashionable demand for this style and approach. Indeed it was difficult to move beyond style and presentation issues. There was a sense that our professionals recognised an expedient adoption of a managerial approach rather than an acceptance that it may provide an alternative and more effective means of framing and solving some problems. This view gained credibility when, and in a variety of ways, our professionals saw the exportability and flexibility of

professional services as the mark of a good professional approach rather than proposing managerially badged solutions.

To what extent have changes been required to professional training and practice to reflect changes in the Local Authority? (Should there be a greater emphasis on management development of professionals?)

Consensus returned to our sample group of professionals here as a result of a commonality of focus. The individuals, without exception, cited performance measurement, appraisals, disciplinary matters and staff management issues as the greatest challenge. This was an unexpected response but it proved to be an illuminating diversion in terms of the profile it enjoyed. This challenge, and the change necessary in response to it, was felt to be both unwelcome and problematic. This was due to the need to both recognise that quality outcomes were more than simply a professionals view of what was best, coupled to the implied criticism of one professionals work by another. Also and importantly, a subsidiary question about where the authority derives from to challenge a colleague's work did not bring forward a meaningful response from any of the group.

As to whether there should be a greater emphasis on management development of our professionals, this brought forward the weakest consistent response from each profession with the only response hitting 5 coming from an architect.

To what extent do you think that professional institutions have become outmoded? (Why is that?)

This question reinforced the consensus achieved from the last question but with a view marginally enhanced to the positive (average 5.5). Our professionals, it seems, do not have a strongly positive view of the contribution made by their professional bodies, unless, that is, it is about credentialing - the licence to practice. Here, there is a wholly positive view. The negative revolves around how well the institutions protect and serve the careers of their Members. One respondent suggested, with irony thinly disguised, that until professional bodies were subject to the same commercial imperatives as their members, it was unlikely they would succeed in supporting their members as they would wish.

The consensus view appeared to be an acceptance that professional bodies have not recently become outmoded, but rather that they were never really any more than a credentialing

body. The professional bodies, on the other hand, would almost certainly struggle to recognise such a restricted or diminished role. In terms of the "why?", there was barely a flicker of interest from the architects, and not much more from the other two professions.

Turning to the discussion with the non-construction Professional Survivor, the approach was more esoteric and had more of an anthropological flavour to it. This individual was able to recall his feelings at the time of the 1990 restructuring. He felt that whilst he had concentrated on organisational arrangements, because that was what he was asked to do, the crux of the matter lay in the professionals (and the hierarchy within which they operated) failure to react to changing circumstances. In response to the question about context he cited three examples, which he felt exemplified the problem. Each of which, he felt, had contributed to the loss of confidence of politicians in the previous department and its subsequent fall from grace. The first concerned a proposal to rationalise secondary education in Ruttle City. He described a proposal based on 'all the right reasons' : removal of surplus places, reduction in travelling times, improved facilities and so forth. This was to be paid for by the release of a capital receipt following closure of two schools and sale of land and buildings. The proposal was led by the property professionals who persuaded inexperienced Members of the rectitude and logic of the idea. The two schools affected conducted a lengthy 'Save our Schools' campaign in the local community and both applied for protection under the (then) new Grant Maintained Schools arrangements. This was viewed by Members as a local disaster and resulted in loss of credibility. The professionals were blamed by the Members who claimed not to have been informed.

The second example flowed from the failure of the surveyors, who looked after school buildings, to come to terms with the shift of responsibility for maintenance to schools from the Local Authority. As far as those surveyors were concerned the buildings remained their responsibility and they owed no accountability or courtesy towards building users. Information was grudgingly given and consultation was limited to information about when something may happen. The then, Chief Building Surveyor was unpersuaded of both this and the schools newly gained authority in the revised relationship. The fall out from this failure to come to terms with a new working relationship resulted in work being undertaken which schools didn't know they wanted, with unsuitable timescales and disruption to the school. This was viewed as doubly irritating when schools saw a significant backlog of work, which they considered to be important, unaddressed. Relationships with schools broke down. Significantly, each school governing body had elected Members serving on it.

The third example revolved around an inappropriate design solution for a new magistrates court in Ruttle City. The design had passed through the internal departmental vetting process and was adjudged by the architect led management team to be innovative. Acclaim for the building, as constructed, was not to be found and there was public reaction against it. So much so that Members publicly criticised officers for professional arrogance. The department after the event saw this 'fiasco' (his words) as a principal contributor to its destruction. Interestingly one contributor was described as suspecting that whilst there was a recognition that something was wrong, there was only a partial understanding of why that might be. Also, he felt, even if it was possible to identify the problem there was no real grasp or understanding of the mechanisms by which it could be fixed. The solutions that were not obvious to those which had helped create the problem in the first place.

Single Point Analysis

The decision to describe this analysis as 'single point' reflects the fact that an analysis of these responses comprises but one part of a triangulated attack on the issue. The triangulated analysis, which will take account of all three groups in an holistic way, will follow in the final Chapter where conclusions are drawn from the research as a whole.

The issues, or points to contemplate, from the Professional Survivors from the Ruttleshire Experience are suggested by a series of strands of commentary.

There seems to be broad agreement across our professions that the changes were not cosmetic, but rather were changes of substance. In terms of why this was so, the respondents seemed to concentrate on a (seemingly) narrow range of reasons - although customer focus and responsiveness to client needs was accepted, there was no clear view about the importance of the need for efficiency and cost reduction. The engineers, in particular, reacted against the suggestion that cash lay at the heart of the issue. Also, the inefficiencies that were acknowledged were more around the administration and bureaucracy associated with their work. Here there was a sense of disconnection and it was as if this function was outwith their responsibility and control, notwithstanding the role of these professionals in the management and direction of it.

There was also a sense of disconnection from the political dynamics - both with a small and large 'p'. There seemed to be no direct link drawn between the professionals, the public, politicians and value for money and service quality issues. Although it was easier to trigger

a discussion about the importance of maintaining quality as opposed to the benefits of cost effective solutions - particularly where any savings were directed away from their areas of specialist interest.

In terms of management and managerial solutions a picture of ambivalence emerges. On the one hand we have professionals talking about short-term expediency and fashion as if a management approach is simply the latest fad. On the other hand we have a recognition of its appropriateness for framing and solving some problems. We also see the irritation with managerial questioning of professionals day to day decisions balanced against a view that the highest profile management challenges were about people management. As far as the need for management development was concerned, there was no clear understanding of what this might be and a concentration on process masked an absence of any clear view about managerial responsibility and accountability. Interestingly, professional bodies, it seems, do not enjoy wide based support and are seen principally as a means to an end.

If one clear message is to emerge from our small sample of Survivors it is disconnection. Interestingly the professionally independent contributor provides a flavour of this in his three anecdotal examples. Here, there is a failure, in the first example, to connect the public/schools management to the discussion. There is a palpable sense of surprise at the negative reaction and little understanding of the relevance of the, out of view, link between schools, elected members of the authority and the public. In the second example, we see this disconnection in the context of professions failing to connect to a new set of relationships and priorities. There is little doubt that the senior staff did not recognise this change as significant or in need of a positive reaction. The third example reinforces this sort of disconnection. The vetting by architects of the solution was clearly seen as sufficient and the accusation of professional arrogance was seen as significant only after the matter had run its course.

In terms of a view towards the research question on the basis of this Chapter, and without wishing to read any firm conclusions in advance of a more rounded consideration of these findings in relation to the next two Chapters, several points emerge. The first, concerns the ambivalence of our professionals to management and the managerial approach. Here, whilst there was broad agreement as to the structural significance of the changes across our professionals, what emerges is a narrower view of management as an activity than may be expected (in the sense that the language and emphasis was more towards administration) coupled to a nervousness about the threat to professional autonomy that a managerial

approach presages. The nervousness may in part be explained by the acceptance of the overtones of survival attaching to the debate, but it does nonetheless resonate with concerns about the rectitude of professionals giving ground to managers, a consistent concern about autonomy running through the Thesis thus far.

Also on the theme of ambivalence we can see a lack of consensus around drivers for change and the managerial reaction to those drivers. For example, whilst the politically motivated changes were recognised as evident and necessary by some, the motivation itself was questioned. This questioning emerges as a result of the lack of connection between the politician as peoples representative and the peoples desire for efficient services. Moreover, a managerial approach was not viewed as uniformly positive and appeared to be seen as an expression of short termism (bad) as opposed to long termism (good).

The obverse of the concern about autonomy emerges as a reaction against questioning or challenges to accepted ways of working. This, coupled to the adoption of management as a fashion accessory or necessary expedient, sees ambivalence shine through in the form of lip service. The evidence supporting ambivalence towards management and the managerial approach based on adoption through fashionable necessity rather than belief is supported by our professionals less than consistent view of it and its importance and relevance. Interestingly, and perhaps significantly, there seems to be no understanding of the basis upon or right by which managers, or the Members they represent, can challenge professionals.

The second, concerns the differences between our professions. In terms of consensus it was evident in the recognition that changes in the ways in which they worked were structural rather than cosmetic and there was argument as to why this was so. The concern about loss of autonomy was consistent, as was the impact of management approach and the degree to which professionals had given ground. There as also consistency in the view about management training being about process. Consensus broke down, however, when one engineer (not atypically) reacted against suggestions of inefficiency. It is, however, fair to draw some initial conclusions about differences in attitudes and approaches of our professions, insofar as these differences do not seem to be about relative ambivalence, but more about reacting against challenges in areas of heartland competences.

The third concerns context and the issues of mindset, orientation and language. Here the intention is to reserve discussion on this aspect of the research question which may be

prompted by our Survivors until the final Chapter, since a wider canvas will provide the increased scale necessary to form a balanced view and to enable a corroborative sight back into Ruttleshire.

Chapter Ten will see this analysis connected into rounded conclusions about the research question.

CHAPTER 8 - OUTCOMES AND ANALYSIS : SEASONED PROFESSIONAL MANAGERS

Introduction

In this the second of the three outcomes and analysis chapters, the sample group comprised eighteen senior professionals in management positions - six architects, six engineers and six surveyors. In order to achieve a relaxed and informal atmosphere the participants were anonymised, with architects described as Knights, engineers as diplomats and surveyors as generals.

The method chosen to achieve a wide ranging response was that of open interview, although a matrix was proposed as a trigger or stimulus for discussion together with two standard questions. Here, whilst the thrust of the Chapter lies in achieving a better understanding of the differences in attitudes between our professions, it will also contribute to a rounded understanding of the research question as a whole.

Outcomes - Architects

Dramatis Personae –

<i>Arthur</i>	-	a retired County Architect
<i>Lancelot</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government
<i>Galahad</i>	-	a Practitioner in Local Government
<i>Gawaine</i>	-	a Senior Practitioner in Local Government
<i>Tristram</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government
<i>Percival</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government

In their responses to the question "is the matrix recognisable to you?", all Architects say that the Matrix is recognisable to them. However *Gawaine's* initial reaction was not to recognise it "as it did not include *Management by Default*" and *Percival* whilst accepting the principles underpinning it was concerned to replace the words describing the horizontal continuum, with "dominant" replacing "discrete" and "subsidiary or subordinate" replacing "complimentary". *Tristram*, on the other hand, whilst recognising the matrix, freely admits to not having thought about the relationships in a linear and diagrammatic fashion.

Not surprisingly, there is a good deal of thought given to the style and approach of different managers by those managers. *Arthur* makes what he describes as a “key point” by describing his view of management as “a largely human activity involving a wide variation of personality types, which make in some cases an emotional as well as an intellectual input to management processes. In the case of *Architects*, it is debatable whether management constitutes the primary function. Ideas, visualisation and design all precede the material process in realising a product.”

Lancelot, on the other hand, sees behaviour conditioned by environment as well as background. “Other managers from similar professional backgrounds, but working at different levels in the organisation, will respond differently due to their working environment. An *Architect* at *Practice Manager* level will shift towards the left of the *Matrix* to adopt a more discrete, scientific approach, given his increased portfolio of responsibilities and more strategic outlook.”

Whereas *Galahad*, who confesses to setting his thoughts down “in no particular order”, describes Professional and Managerial Roles as “not sitting easily together”, requiring “different sorts of commitment and skills”. He goes on to suggest that “*Management for an Architect tends to be incidental to the real business of being creative – a means to an end*”. Interestingly *Galahad* illustrates this particular view of his profession’s design led philosophy by the following anecdote: “Here is an *Architect* (with a big ‘A’), a committed designer, trained at the AA. He works with a like minded friend in London but picks up a big job in the North – (he picks up this job because he’s a good designer). The job is too big to do from London, or at the same time as anything else, so he moves and expands from 2 to 10. Almost overnight – and without anticipating it – he becomes a practice manager rather than a practising Architect. He wants to retain control of creative output but can’t – he’s spread too thin, his staff are frustrated by his interference. Eventually, he sells his share in the practice – and starts again from scratch.”

Gawaine’s refreshingly robust view of accepted management wisdom is epitomised by this early observation, “I am aware that there have been innumerable tomes written on management, but cannot claim to have read much, and regard most with a healthy scepticism”. He then goes on to describe the need to lead by example, to develop team spirit and to keep clients happy, which (by implication) he sees as nothing to do with management.

Interestingly, *Gawaine* feels that a team-based approach is only possible in small teams and cannot be replicated as scale increases. This echoes *Lancelot's* view that management moves from a complimentary activity to a discrete activity as scale and complexity increases and is all the more interesting because *Gawaine* does not identify what he does in complimentary mode as management activity in any event. *Gawaine* also sheds some light on the smaller practice private sector approach – and its stereotype: *"I have worked in a number of private practices, mainly small, but also one larger. The latter had a focussed management system, though imposed in what was thought to be an architecturally warm and feely sort of way. The smaller practices operated in a more artistic fashion – probably conforming to the perceived stereotype"*.

Percival, with ill-disguised cynicism, sees most architects operating at an intuitive level where management is subordinated to professionalism and where a scientific approach to management is more concerned with process and contract administration (an activity at the demeaning end of professional architectural activity): *"Architects at all levels retain a close link with the product of their endeavours and tend to be more interested in the product than the process. They are reluctant to forego involvement in design for managerial activity. The latter is generally seen as subsidiary. Contract administration is only a means to an end"*.

Tristram's view of an architect focussing on conceptual design and co-ordinating the activities of the design team (which includes other disciplines) *"tend to place architects towards the people based, qualitative, artistic approach to management tasks"*. This view brings us full circle to *Arthur's* *"key point"* about management as *"a largely human activity"* and is perhaps a thread running through many of the observations. *Tristram*, however, takes this human/people-focussed aspect of management by and with architects forward by describing his thoughts on management activity. He clearly sees the role of a professional influencing that individual's view *"from a junior professional's perspective, management activity will often appear as remote from the immediate role of contributing to project delivery. An experienced professional will often view many aspects of management activity as a logical application of skills developed in the course of professional activity (programming, balancing fees and costs on projects, supervising project teams etc). However, a senior professional will generally recognise the differences between the management of a project and an organisation."* He also feels that structure and size will affect a professional's view of management activity *"for example a flatter structure will tend to reinforce the view of managerial activity as an extension of professional activity"*.

Tristram joins *Gawaine* and, in part at least, his other architectural contributors in seeing architectural practices, where partners are hands-on, as different to larger more hierarchical organisations “*where architects have set up their own practices, management activity is often viewed as a logical and necessary development of professional activity.*” This evolutionary theme continues as *Tristram*’s view of recruitment policies designed to bring in outsiders to senior positions and exposure to management training by non-professionals in growing organisations will reinforce the separateness of management activity from professional activity and contribute to the loss of ‘ownership’ of management by the body of professionals in the developing organisation.

Our Architects sample’s perspective of architects and management as a linked concept does provide some common threads. All tend to see a people-based approach to management as being more relevant to them and there is a strong suggestion, put implicitly as well as explicitly, that there is a tension between management and creativity. Also, and what may prove significant, is that there was a suggestion, put more strongly by some than others, that size of organisation affected or altered both the perceptions of management and management’s approach to the task and, on what could be obverse side of the same coin, that smaller units did not need (or want) formal management. This latter suggestion was, to a certain extent, confirmed by a lack of recognition that management existed at small team level – and that management language was reserved for management in larger organisations or at levels above the project team in hierarchies.

Perhaps significant, and in the circumstances remains worrying, is language issues. Much of the day to day management activity is not recognised as such by our architects – notwithstanding the fact that in many cases what they describe is a sophisticated and sympathetic approach to project management challenges, but in non-management-speak. There is also the strong hint that management tasks which were recognised as management tasks – that is contract administration, record keeping and so forth, are less popular activities, whereas management tasks which are more popular, such as leading the team, client liaison and developing the design brief, are seen as professional tasks. *Arthur* relates a tale of a heated discussion he witnessed where an Assistant County Architect was taken to task by a client department Chief Officer for what he termed profligacy of detailing and extravagant use of materials. The architect mounted a stalwart defence of his design proposals, justifying his designs on the basis of his professional judgement, and refused to compromise. It was, for him, an issue of professional integrity. He felt that the discussion

went well and that he had triumphed over the forces of administration and mediocrity. He left soon after he failed to secure the promotion he felt he deserved - none the wiser

In terms of location in quadrant, we see all our architects drawing towards management in the PM (Professional Manager) Quadrant, where intuition and management as a compliment to professionalism describe the boundary. Our architects, whilst understanding and acknowledging managers operating in other quadrants, seem to have a tangible lack of sympathy with anything other than a PM approach. This latter conclusion is evidenced in part by their thoughts about themselves and colleague architects as managers and in part by their views of other construction professionals (Engineers and Surveyors) as managers. It seems that, by and large, and with the notable exception (suggested by Arthur) of *"creative engineering in structural design"*, other construction professions are seen as operating in unsympathetic quadrants.

However, before leaving the discussion by architects of architects in management, it is helpful to give some thought to this comment (Galahad), *"I don't know many architects on the left hand side of your diagram and none at all that manage effectively. Scientific management, like benchmarking, performance indicators, QA and psychometric testing. seems like a mass failure of confidence. Too much information"* or Gawaine's view that he *"would rather be working on a project and, at times, regards management issues as a distraction, which must be endured"*. Percival expresses himself equally bluntly *"They (architects) are reluctant to forego involvement in design for managerial activity"*.

It is, perhaps, appropriate to move on by reference to Tristram's pen portraits of what he sees as two extremes of behaviour.

Firstly, Bill, a section leader in a County Architect's Dept.

"A flamboyant character, an experienced architect, complete with the obligatory bow tie, and boundless enthusiasm. He used group design sessions to create team spirit, raise design awareness, and involve a wide cross section of the office in projects. Bill's focus was always on the design process and, looking back at my experience in his office, his methods of management appeared to be very much part of professional activity and his approach was an extreme example of people based and qualitative 'artistic' management style. Bill would 'go into battle' with structural engineers, building services engineers and quantity surveyors, to obtain the desired result for the final design, this could have been smaller concrete columns (a long running battle with Ove Arups), smaller ventilation ducts, or a vigorous debate on cost estimates, but the objective was always quality.

Bill's combative style ruffled a few feathers and he was regularly summoned to the County Architect's office following the complaints of aggrieved parties, he did not accept defeat gracefully.

Whilst Bill's management style was inspirational to me at the time, I think much of this was due to his charisma and strong personality. Looking back now, Bill was a remnant of the days when architects saw themselves as the sole champions of the building process, with other disciplines (operating in separate departments) having a supporting role only, and clients treated with some disdain. The more contemporary view of the integrated multi-professional building team would be foreign to Bill and his distinctly personal approach would perhaps not work as effectively today with a reduced central role and greater emphasis on co-operative working."

Secondly, Roy an architect and hospital planner.

"Roy was a 'programmer' in the North American sense, ie creating a detailed brief, defining functional and spatial requirements and interrelationships.

Whilst he was a qualified architect, he had become very specialised, and hospital programming was the sole area in which he operated. Roy's vast experience in this area led him to being sought by large practices during the initial stages of large hospital projects. He moved from practice to practice, often returning to the same firms, upon the client's approval of the completed 'program' his work would be complete.

Roy managed the whole process of program development, including client consultation, in the practice in which I worked with him he managed the process at project level only, the partners managed his role in the context of overall project delivery and his working relationship with other office personnel. The projects in which he was involved were all large (\$20m-\$100m) and the programming activity would take 6-12 months.

Whilst Roy was only involved with one aspect of architectural practice, and his management role was restricted to all aspects of this process and those assisting him (only), his approach was an extreme example of quantitative, task driven, scientific management.

Following completion of a detailed schedule of space/room area allocations, which also contained a description of the relationships with other spaces (weighted to convey importance), spatial relationships would be analysed. An example of Roy's methodical approach to defining these relationships was his use of tiered layers of clear acrylic on which colour-coded cards scaled to represent the areas of the various spaces were arranged during a series of meetings with the various client groups, and the results recorded. This exercise examined spatial relationships between individual spaces, horizontally and vertically, and considered relationships with vertical service core(s), and was also used to reach a consensus view on desirable relationships across a broad range of client groups (often with conflicting priorities).

Whilst Roy's work would ultimately inform and influence the design, his input was at this early stage only, as he had no involvement in the design process his methods were divorced from the 'creative' aspects of design, his activities concentrated on factual information and clarity of purpose. Roy would deliberately distance himself

from the view of other design professionals of all disciplines as he viewed his role as defining requirements, and consciously avoided conjecture and opinion."

Having set down the Architects view about their relationships with the matrix and something of their perceptions of themselves and their profession in the context of management, it may be useful to see what our Architects feel about their colleague professions of Engineers & Surveyors. Our Architects views of engineers and surveyors begins with *Arthur's* view of surveyors: *"With reference to Surveyors; in almost every case I believe their input to construction projects to have been quantitative, numerate and definitive. Organisational, analytical and control skills seemed to me to be a greater part of this armoury – perhaps almost endemic."* Also, when discussing surveyors, *Arthur* talks about a quantitative and numerate approach as opposed to a qualitative stance preferred by architects and, with what may be a significant use of language, describes the *"emotional"* involvement of the architect as contrasted with the *"numerate and detached"* approach of the surveyor. *Arthur* uses real life examples to illustrate his point. He does not offer an opinion on engineers.

Galahad, on the other hand, has a view of engineers – seeing them as similar to surveyors. His use of language is interesting as he describes engineers and surveyors as *"defined"*, *"precise"*, *"scientific"* and *"focussed"*. He also sees less involvement of *"people and interests"* which he equates to *"less management"*. *Galahad's* view of management is firmly people oriented and by *"interests"* he is describing an environment typified by a multiplicity of constituencies. He also groups engineers and surveyors together in the context of needing certainty and dealing in tangibles, which he talks about in contrast to architect's *"creativity"* and preparedness to take *"imaginative leaps"*.

Lancelot sees engineers as operating at the diagonally opposite quadrant of the matrix. He has no firm views about surveyors. He does, however, have a firm view of engineers, seeing them as quantitative, scientific and likely to see management as a separate rather than complimentary activity. He does, however, condition his view by reference to the seniority of the individual within the structure and the type or composition of the managed team. He suggests that the more composite a team is, the more likely the engineer is to manage through application of science and quantitative measurement. He also says that, in his opinion, *"an engineer operating as a manager of a small team (of similar professional backgrounds) will retain his scientific approach, but will be closer to his team and manage in a complimentary (as opposed to a discrete) way"*.

Gawaine, who has little empathy with what he sees as management with a Capital ‘M’ (or Managers for that matter), is disparaging about surveyors who “*appeared to be obsessed by numbers (or at least that was my perception)! As a result we were given detailed time targets for every stage of a project. These purported to be very scientific, but were, in fact, very simplistic and failed to take into consideration the specifics of each project (difficult site, difficult client, easy repetition etc).*” The engineering profession will be relieved to know that *Gawaine* has refrained from commenting on it.

Percival sees the majority of surveyors as “*detail men*” and the difference between the architectural and engineering professions relates to engineers having “*a more detached view of their product and at a senior level are much more comfortable with pure management – viewing involvement with design as unproductive.*” *Tristram*, however, does not draw on particular distinctions between architects and other construction professionals and holds to the view that differences in management approaches are more about roles, seniority and type of organisational structure.

Outcomes - Engineers

Dramatis Personae

<i>Bismarck</i>	-	a Chief Officer in Local Government
<i>Palmerston</i>	-	a senior public sector civil engineering manager
<i>Metternich</i>	-	a local director of an international civil engineering consultancy
<i>Kissinger</i>	-	a retired Borough Engineer
<i>Richlieu</i>	-	a senior director of an international civil engineering consultancy
<i>Garibaldi</i>	-	a senior local government consultancy manager

In their responses to the seed questions, all our engineers say that the matrix is recognisable. *Bismarck* expresses some concern about language, but *Garibaldi* is pointed in his view that artistic and intuitive as descriptions for managerial attitudes should better be replaced by “*risk taking/entrepreneurial*”. On further exploration with *Bismarck* about language issues, he explained that he had recently taken on an expanded role and was now responsible for a mixture of construction professionals (hitherto, he was principally involved with engineers). He was “*surprised at the problems of definition of task*” by his newly

acquired charges, who failed to grasp the need for an *“organised and disciplined approach to management activity”*. This he saw as a prerequisite for success (his success had recently been rewarded by promotion).

Garibaldi is clearly uncomfortable with an intuitive approach to management and distrusts its *“risky”* application in practice. This distrust is evidenced by his clear preference for a *“logical and scientific”* examination of options and appraisal of these options on the basis of hard facts. *Palmerston*, on the other hand, prides himself on being a *“down to earth no frills character”* (and he certainly is). *Palmerston* does not draw on his considerable engineering background to support his equally considerable management achievement, but rather he draws on (what can only be described as) his judgement of people and situations. He is *“not often wrong”*.

Palmerston has a deep suspicion of what he describes as *“chancers”*. He goes on to describe *“chancers”* as engineers with a *“lack of practical management but loads of management language”* who progress up the management ladder *“by self promotion and self projection, with no conviction or understanding of what it’s all about”*. He describes this approach as *“professional management”* and sees it as little to do with professionalism or management.

Interestingly, *Palmerston* illustrates a *“tick box and mechanistic”* reflection of this attitude to management by reference to one of his junior colleagues *“who after making a complete cock up of a task asked to be moved to other work. I took this to mean he had faced his limitations. Not a bit of it! He then tells me that the problem was that it was all taking longer than he thought and he didn’t want to be too closely identified with any particular specialism – it might affect his promotion and look bad on his CV”*.

Metternich shares *Garibaldi’s* concerns about language but, in his case, in the context of the difference between administration, management and professional activity. He sees administration as tending to be at the *“boring end”* of management but, intriguingly, moves on to describe a number of high level tasks commonly associated with management, such as fee calculation and collection, as *“essentially professional in character”*. In some ways this was surprising, since he saw engineers (himself included) *“firmly in the scientific quadrant”* as far as management was concerned, but the more people focussed activities – relating to *“motivating the team and engendering the right attitude to work”* was seen as at the core of professional responsibility.

Kissinger, who manages in a multi-disciplinary environment, sees the scientific approach as "sterile" and more likely to be "found in central support departments of local authorities eg Finance Departments". He is not an advocate. *"The scientific approach to management, although more quantitative and task driven, in my view tends to be a sterile style of management and one which ignores the practicalities associated with the normal management function. The artistic approach on the other hand is more people based and qualitative and is by far, in my mind, the most successful of the two styles of management and is one which maximises the use of the main resource within the department, the human resource."* He does, however, suggest that the issue of complimentary or discrete management is very much a product of whether the professional is simply managing a group of fellow engineers or managing a more complex group with a range of construction professions. *"Traditionally, the management activity has been closely linked to the professional activity. This is in line with the view that the managerial activity is part and parcel of the professional activity. However, the proliferation of multi-disciplinary departments in local authorities and other organisations has changed the picture. The management of those departments is invariably in the hands of a manager belonging to one or more of the disciplines within the department. This is obviously in keeping with the view that the professional and managerial activity are discrete and separate."*

Richlieu, on the other hand, sees his colleague professionals operating very much in the scientific half of the matrix and erring towards the view that managerial and professional tasks have a complimentary relationship as *"managerial activity is integral with professional activity since this is core within their academic and, in particular, professional training."* Richlieu is firmly of the opinion that engineers "make good managers". But accepts he is talking about engineers managing engineers. And that, clearly, he has had a very bad experience with ergonomists, which he charitably describes as "entertaining". The following personal recollection, however, does provide a fuller flavour of his opinions:

"I suppose the best example of an individual operating close to the extremes of the matrix is drawn from experience of a former colleague of mine. He is degree qualified, a Chartered Civil Engineer and has a good MBA. As you might expect from his training and academic background, he had a strong grasp of management techniques and applied them diligently. He was also strongly scientific in his management – his usual reaction on approaching a task would be to draw a flow chart to understand the process, then develop a spreadsheet!. I think that this 'extreme' style and approach did nothing to help his career –he was undoubtedly talented but was never able to fulfil his potential – and he moved away from mainstream business into a role which involved the development of quality management systems, which strongly suited his scientific style. Perhaps this is a

good example of how a balanced approach to management style would be more productive in the development of one's career."

As with the architects, our engineers readily volunteer an opinion about their colleague construction professionals' approach to management. Here, *Garibaldi* reinforces his concerns about the application of intuition and artistry in management, but confesses to having little first hand experience of managing architects and surveyors, relying on "*spectator prejudice*" to inform his judgement. *Bismarck*, on the other hand, provides a more balanced picture, which is arrived at (presumably) by a fair degree of first hand experience – albeit recent and short term. He seemed concerned, however, by the "*lack of discipline of architects and surveyors*" who felt able to "*guard some managerial tasks*" and exercise discretion "*to discard or ignore other managerial activities on the basis of lack of interest*". He drew no real distinction between the two professions and seemed concerned about the resistance he felt, or sensed, to the importation of "*rigorous management discipline*".

Richlieu draws on a somewhat limited experience of working with the other two construction professions and uses the position of civil engineers on the matrix to illustrate the differences. He sees civil engineers as sitting firmly in the scientific/complimentary quartile, which is also where he feels is the seat of sound management. *Richlieu* places architects firmly in the intuitive/discrete quadrant and, whilst he makes no direct comment on the validity of the approach to management, he is perhaps not comfortable with that way of managing. This discomfort is evidenced by his linking into the discussion (and the quadrant) other exemplars of this approach such as landscape specialists and planners and, by citing ergonomists as the most extreme exponents of the style: "*you can see I've had an experience which was not too happy here*". Importantly, *Richlieu* does also refer to other types of engineers (electrical, telematics, environmental) who are also less comfortable with a complimentary approach, but (and perhaps importantly) remain he feels in the scientific half of the matrix. Surveyors, he feels "*operating in the development field would very much see management as complimentary and would be nicely balanced on the model between scientific and artistic*".

Kissinger offers a strong argument in favour of all the construction professionals operating best in complimentary mode (and here he cites architects and a variety of sorts of surveyors). He is clearly concerned at the need for all professionals to move from complimentary to discrete styles once they are asked to manage more than simply their own colleagues.

Palmerston who sees all professionals falling cleanly into two camps, there are *“those who can cut it and those who can’t”*. He is firmly of the view that *“good professionals manage their work and their teams as one activity”*. He is deeply suspicious of professionals of all disciplines who *“are full of management jargon and buzz words”*. He sees no difference between engineers and architects and surveyors. Interestingly, he thinks that younger professionals are inclined to view a discrete approach to management (*“complete with jargon and buzzwords”*) as the right approach to management. This, he feels, is because many senior professionals in his organisation (he feels he is in the minority) send out that message and little credit is given to (what John Adair would have described as) unconscious competence.

Metternich describes architects as *“anything but managerial”* but is quick to point out that *“they really do look after their clients”*. He is concerned about the way professionals in senior positions feel the need to *“package professionalism”* by what he describes as *“scenery building – the snappy suit, the glitzy presentation – put on a show and justify the fee”*. He is troubled by the acceptance that professionals must clothe themselves in the trappings of, what the clients think of as, sound management. He does, however, make the point that *“in a shirts off environment we all revert to type, go back to our roots and talk technical stuff”*. Metternich also took the view that engineers were different to architects and surveyors in one important regard. And that this affected behaviour. He commented that unlike building work, which tended to be funded equally by public and private sector, civil engineering, whether undertaken by the private or public sector, was largely funded by government. His view was that the engineers, public or private, were conditioned by the same *“public money clients”* who created *“a certain homogeneity of approach and behaviour to management of projects”*. He saw more variation in approach and behaviour amongst architects and engineers exposed to a variety of different clients.

Outcomes - Surveyors

Dramatis Personae

<i>Wellington</i>	-	a Senior Partner in Private Sector
<i>Marlborough</i>	-	a Senior Partner in Private Practice
<i>Patton</i>	-	a Chief Officer in Local Government
<i>Napoleon</i>	-	a Senior Manager in Local Government
<i>Rommel</i>	-	a Senior Practitioner in Local Government

Our surveyors responses to the seed questions highlight a curious anomaly and with the exception of *Rommel*, responses do not say whether the matrix is recognisable, but do go on to comment on it with understanding. At the risk of losing the thread, or jumping to an early conclusion, I revisited the way in which Architects and Engineers said the matrix was recognisable to them and here too there were differences. The Architects, whilst stating that the matrix was recognisable, went on to challenge and redefine it, the words, the relationships and so forth. The engineers, on the other hand, tended to subordinate any potential concerns about the structure or description of the matrix to the task in hand. So, in broad terms, our architects recognised it – but wanted to amend it, our engineers recognised it but controlled any impulse to amend it and our surveyors, by and large, avoided any discussion of the matrix but were content to discuss the issues.

Wellington, with characteristic modesty, is “*amazed that you think I have the ability to understand what you are saying*” and then proceeds to explain that, in his view, there are only two sets of professionals – “*those who get work and those who do it*”. He has little truck with “*management theorists*” and selects partners and associates not on managerial ability, but on the basis of “*interpersonal skills and the ability to recognise an opportunity – anyone can be hired in to do it or to manage it*”. He talks about management with a capital ‘M’ as an activity associated with large corporate organisations (his practice works with this type of organisation) and his experience suggests that here “*professional and managerial activity is separate, their approach is scientific*.” He sees himself and his colleagues not so much as managers but conceded that, if so labelled, he would be more comfortable “*leaning towards artistic/intuitive/complimentary management*” He rounded off with the comment “*I think you know that I am basically people based and qualitative (in style and approach)*”.

Rommel, (our surveyor in the minority) who leads off with a comment on the matrix itself, as “*instantly recognisable*” moves on to talk about surveyors as managers. Surveyors, he feels, manage in the complimentary quadrant and, although erring towards science, is comfortable with an intuitive approach. He sees surveyors as “*the grey man of the construction professions, coming out as a hybrid*”. He also feels that, because surveyors often have an uncertain or ambiguous role in construction, they are adaptable and tend to use a “*need arises pragmatic approach*” to suit different circumstances. Also *Rommel* views surveyors management role as almost by default in many cases where “*by instinct not a natural manager, but is willing to give it a go to fix it if something needs special attention*”.

This lack of a clearly defined role in the construction process is also picked up by *Wellington*, who identifies a correlation between a lack of confidence in practitioners as to their role outside the comfort of process professionalism and the willingness to grasp management responsibility. He describes the desire for surveyors to undertake post graduate diplomas in Project Management, before having the confidence *"to do, overtly, what they had been doing behind the scenes for years"*. *Patton*, on the other hand, is unequivocal *"I must confess that I do not recognise management as a discrete activity"*. He is also a proponent of management as an alternative to professional Heads of Section in local government *"we no longer have or can afford the luxury of the specialist position, but by effective management continue to provide good services that people want"*. That said, he sees management training and activity as part and parcel of career development which, by implication, suggests that advancement in his organisation necessarily means acquiring a balance of professional and managerial competences. *"Nevertheless, it is my view that managerial activity is an integral part of professional work and duties. I recall from my University days that the Building Degree I took featured a significant element of management theory"*. *Patton* is also at ease with the proposition that management skills should be a key element in any technical degree.

Marlborough equates professional activity to fee earning activity and management *"mainly as a separate activity that has to be fitted in around the professional activities"*. His use of language in this statement and others conveys the strong impression that management tasks are subordinated to professional tasks – where the fees are earned: *"I consider that the marketing of professional services is not a management activity, but an adjunct to the professional activity."* *Marlborough* does, however, draw the distinction between marketing and *"the management of the marketing services (which) is part and parcel of the wider management role"*.

In describing his own management position on the matrix, he says that he is *"slightly northwest"* which would place him in the discrete/scientific quadrant. This sits fairly comfortably with his expressed opinions save insofar as he goes on to say *"as to whether management is scientific or artistic, varies very much with the task itself. People management must be artistic. To take a scientific quantitative approach is not a good way to develop relations with personnel. On the other hand, financial control, database management etc are very much scientific management tasks."* Interestingly, the one management area where *Marlborough* sees a complimentary approach as valid is in people

management; *"the only area where the two (professional and management activity) cross is in man management, particularly that of training, encouraging and developing personnel"*.

Napoleon thinks *"there is a tendency amongst professional and technical managers towards the scientific approach"*. He describes managers who are *"totally task orientated and, whilst they often achieved a good technical result, they appeared to be impervious to client perception and made no qualitative judgement at all in relation to their managerial operation."* He has a view that professional surveyors' attitudes to management are conditioned by their workload and the complexity of their relationships. He uses Valuation Surveyors as an example of professionals who have one to one relationships with clients and very little to do with colleagues. Here, he sees little management, as the relationship is straightforward, individual and uncomplicated. On the other hand, where surveyors form part of a team, individualism is subordinated to the needs of the team and management becomes necessary. The emphasis on individualism is, perhaps, significant. Napoleon includes some observations about CCT & Best Value and factors which make for successful in-house local government professional and technical services: *"Interestingly, I have seen the contrast coming out in some of the meetings I have attended about Best Value. The "scientific" manager sees Best Value as a task or imposition to be overcome in much the same way as CCT. I think, however, that the whole concept of Best Value is pointing towards the more "artistic" skills and it is our success in the people related and qualitative areas which will make the difference between the retention of the successful in-house service or a move towards more outsourcing."*

Zhukov has a clear view of the surveyor's approach to management as sitting firm in the scientific/complimentary Managing Professional quadrant. Intriguingly, he sees the management task as complimentary in terms of the profession as a whole, but the scientist/artist divide he sees much more as a product of personality – which in surveyors he sees as more likely to be scientific. Here again, we have a surveyor who thinks in terms of fee earning work and managerial tasks *"senior professionals should be significant fee earners as well as managers"*. He expands his thoughts on this as follows: *"Whereas it is very important to ensure staff operate efficiently and that work is found, is completed on time, within budget and in accordance with what clients want, I do not feel we can afford the luxury of a good number of staff spending considerable time "managing". In Land Agency, because fee rates are relatively low, Partners and Associates in private firms in this area still spend virtually their whole working day on fee earning work with management meetings usually held after the close of business."*

Given the range and diversity of comments from surveyors, it seems appropriate to finish with Wellington's sage route to professional wisdom: *"There's much more to Quantity Surveying than taking off dimensions from drawings – it's only when you're fully qualified you know enough to know what you don't know."* He also spoke (with some feeling) about a recent experience he had had coaching a young surveyor towards his Test of Professional Competence - a post-qualification experienced based credential. He described how, without much success, he had tried to find out what this young surveyor thought was the most important issue associated with a client's new office development. The young surveyor talked about cost, specification levels, heating, air conditioning and so forth - delving into ever increasing detail as the answers failed to hit the mark. When Wellington, by now exasperated, explained it was about car parking and proximity of public transport, he was greeted by "Oh, of course". If our surveyor's view of their approach to management is less focussed than architects and engineers, their view of architects and engineers approach to management enjoys some coherence.

Wellington's view of the architect as manager was that his one undisputed and traditional position of the architect as leader of the design team was now *"mostly lost"*. He suggested that Schools of Architecture should share a good deal of responsibility for *"turning out a generation of architects who were practically (in a literal sense) useless"*. He recollected an architect friend who had practised well into his eighties and who had studied under Gropius in pre-war Germany. As part of his architectural *"apprenticeship"* he learned a trade so as to *"keep the artist in touch with his materials"*. He did, however, volunteer that young architects were much improved over the last few years and also suggested that *"improved financial management"* (of projects) was not accepted as necessary to maintain sound client relationships. He did wonder whether artistic ability and financial acumen were mutually exclusive. Engineers he saw as *"reliable"*. And could not be drawn further.

Rommel thinks that architects chose their profession *"from the heart. Architects are far too passionate about their craft to ever let other responsibilities get in the way"*. He feels this may drive architects to see management as a separate function. He sees architecture practice as *"an art form and structure, circumstance, detail and logic sometimes as inhibitors of creativity"*. He does not see architects as *"natural managers outside the design environment"*. Interestingly, he describes a senior architect of his acquaintance *"who was far too pre-occupied with talking to clients about the design so that they (the clients) were disappointed when the project was late"*.

Marlborough recalls an architect Director of a Housing Association: *"He was very much a person who kept management of the association as an adjunct to the day to day business of providing housing and therefore could only see the management as being a complimentary activity and very much one that was people based. Success to him was in ensuring that all of his properties were let at all times to tenants who were satisfied with the accommodation provided."* He also knows *"of an architect whose approach to management was pretty much to ignore it. His practice did go bankrupt"*. He suggests (with rare insight into the practicalities) he was not a good example of management in practice. He describes an engineer operating in the scientific/discrete (MS) quadrant and, significantly, perhaps sees him *"carrying out very little professional activity"*. He also sees this as extreme behaviour.

Rommel picks up the scientific management theme when he discusses engineers as managers, but sees them operating firmly in complimentary mode. He does, however, identify a difference between engineers and architects, since the latter is very much bound up with his or her clients and the former tends to have less distraction from the task in hand which, in turn, allows a more disciplined approach. Napoleon does not offer an opinion as to whether or not the professions' approach management in different ways, but he does suggest that the nature of the work is probably a greater influence on behaviour than professional background. He has noticed different behaviours of professionals, working alone, in single disciplinary teams and in multi-disciplinary teams. He suggests this is about control and management through knowledge and expertise, rather than through managerial skills.

Patton echoes Napoleon's doubts about real differences between professions, but suggests differences are more likely to be a reflection of whether or not the individual has the benefit of some form of management training. He is clearly an advocate of formal training in management and his management team are all undergoing management training at a local university, using the Business Excellence Model. Zhukov on the other hand has no strong view on the differences between our professionals, but does see an emphasis on order and discipline amongst engineers and a strong client focus amongst architects. In all professions he sees the main barrier to sound management as the pursuit of detailed knowledge. He condemns roundly the tendency of some professions in senior positions *"to question in considerable depth and at great length every aspect of staff's professional work"*. This he evidences by describing architects who want to put their *"stamp"* on every design leaving the practice, of engineers who redesign schemes produced by other engineers and of surveyors who insist on vetting all letters and reports.

Single Point Analysis

At outset it needs to be remembered, as with the previous Chapter, that this single point analysis is a reflection of its focus on one leg of our triangulation, which in this case is an analysis of the views of Seasoned Professional Managers. There is a difference, however, since the analysis is of a semi-structured series of interviews, some more semi than structured, and the analysis will necessarily be iterative and reiterative, recognising the absence of formal structure. That said, the way in which the interviews developed leads us into a discussion about the thoughts of each profession, one of another.

The first thing to note is the general tenor of the responses and the reliance on a degree of stereotypical and anecdotal description evident in some element of most responses. So, individually, we see statements such as *"engineers make good managers"* (an engineer) reinforced by a description of architects as *"anything but managerial"* (also an engineer). We see engineers being considered by architects to be less capable of taking *"imaginative leaps"* or possessing *"creativity"*. Our surveyors, on the other hand, seem to claim least for their own profession's managerial confidence and use more temperate language to describe the managerial efforts of other professions. Engineers are seen, for example, as *"reliable"*.

That there are differences between the professions generally must be so, since the backgrounds, training and product all differ, but are the somewhat prejudicial views each of each other recognised by the professionals themselves? Is the general translated to the particular? Are the prejudices justified? Our architects' views of surveyors, for example, is a generalist one and typically talks about numeracy and dealing in tangibles and details – where detail is clearly seen in a pejorative light. Our engineers' views of surveyors is not so clear and this exposes a more restricted contact with other professionals by our engineers. This of itself is interesting. So, on the face of it, there is danger in relying over much on our professionals perceptions of other professions, other than to shed light by reflection of their own professions, whose training and outputs condition their response and, by virtue of background and disposition, perhaps influenced their choice of profession in the first place.

Thus, we have architects who recognise the matrix but are concerned by the use of words and by the use of a linear gauge. The suggestion about describing management as either a dominant or subordinate activity poses questions where preferring *"intuitive"* to *"artistic"* and a comfort about *"scientific"* as descriptions of approach or adoptive behaviour, does not. We also have architects who see themselves unequivocally as people/client focussed, with a

strong emphasis of creativity and individualism. This is summed up by *Arthur's* "*largely human activity*" and *Tristram's* tending "*to place architects towards the people based, qualitative, artistic*". All of our architects feel most at ease working in the Intuitive and Complimentary quartile but, without exception, all see the artistic and creative (Intuitive) quality as most important. This is evidenced by *Arthur* who's comment "*it is debatable whether management constitutes the primary function*" is echoed by *Percival* who is content to see management described as "*subsidiary or subordinate*" and by *Galahad's* view that "*management for an architect tends to be incidental to the real business of being creative*". Both *Percival* and *Galahad* use the phrase "*a means to an end*" when describing management for architects. Here we see the expedient view of management surfacing.

Tristram picks up the theme from a different perspective when he talks about "*focussing on conceptual design and co-ordinating the activities of the design team*" and *Gawaine's* "*healthy scepticism*" of management lore and his thoughts on team spirit and client relationships serve to introduce his views about the effectiveness of small teams and the need to adopt a different approach as organisational scale increases. This design-led, team based philosophy, and the discomfort size and management responsibility creates, is illustrated by *Galahad's* story about his friend who cannot deal with the loss of design control when his practice expands through success. *Lancelot* sees an architect needing "*to adopt a more discrete, scientific approach, given (his) increased portfolio of responsibilities and more strategic outlook*". *Gawaine* observed differences between different sized practices where "*focussed management*" was not in evidence in smaller practices. *Tristram's* thoughts on the relationship between structural layers in an organisation and the need for management activity is conditioned by the feeling that "*senior professionals will generally recognise the differences between the management of project and an organisation*". This comment is preceded by the observation that "*from a junior professionals perspective, management activity will often appear as remote from the immediate role of contributing to project delivery*".

The converse of this argument about the appropriateness of management to our architects is introduced by *Gawaine* who "*would rather be working on a project and regards management issues as a distraction*", developed by *Galahad* who talks about management deriving from a "*mass failure of confidence*" and underlined by the general view that day to day management tasks (often described as "*administration*") sit at the demeaning end of a continuum of enjoyment. The large-is-not-so-beautiful proposition is enhanced by *Tristram's* suggestion that as organisations increase in size, so it diffuses its team spirit and increases

specialisation in management because of the need to recruit outsiders. So, can we see any consistent themes emerging from our architects? The first is the clear view that management is most appropriately seen as subordinate to creativity. The second is that the human side, people based approach is seen as important and this sits comfortably alongside the espoused client focus. This is not seen as management activity. The third is that many management tasks are unpopular and relatively unimportant. This type of management activity is often described as "*administration*". And that it is often seen as a "means to end".

Running alongside the profession by profession thematic examination, there is an identifiable parallel issue and that is there is a general suggestion that scale and complexity affects managerial style. It is also clear at this stage of the analysis that this issue is raised by a significant cross-section of our contributors in all three professions. Each of these three themes can be cross-referenced to views expressed of the architectural profession by our engineers and surveyors – particularly in the context of their approach to management activity. For example, in terms of architects subordinating management to creativity, this is seen most clearly in concerns of engineers about lack of discipline and organisation – almost a stereotypical view of the artist in chaos. This concern about discipline and organisation amongst architects is echoed by surveyors, but issues are more often expressed in terms of creativity and management competencies being mutually exclusive – "*detail and logic sometimes (as) inhibitors of creativity*" (Rommel).

In terms of architects majoring on the human people/client based approach, this is also recognised by engineers and Metternich's description of architects as "*anything but managerial*" is followed by "*they really do look after their clients*". Our surveyors share this view and Rommel's observation about architects who are "*far too preoccupied with talking to clients*" has clear resonance. The lack of popularity of management tasks associated with the architectural profession enjoys recognition too. Bismarck talks about the exercise of discretion "*to discard or ignore (other) managerial tasks on the basis of lack of interest*".

In terms of our three architectural themes, is there a common thread emerging which links the three? The issue of the dominance of creativity over management is a strong theme, but what do our architects mean by management? In acting as protagonists for a people based, client focus, it is clear that much of the softer activity is not seen as management activity, but is seen as essentially professional in character. Also, the tendency to describe less interesting managerial tasks as "*administration*" provides a useful third perspective. Is this a language issue? Could our architects be comfortable with management if it was defined or

expressed in language more relevant to them. There is implicit evidence to support this contention in the style and tenor of the responses from our architects, but the easiest digested indication of the rectitude of the proposition can be seen in *Tristram's* pen portraits of Bill and Roy who are seen as opposites.

Tristram describes Bill as a “*flamboyant character*” with “*boundless enthusiasm*” committed to “*create team spirit*” and champion “*the design process*” who was regularly ruffling feathers and upsetting management. His management style was “*inspirational to me*”. But *Tristram* sees Bill’s “*distinctly personal approach*” as out of step and less effective today. Roy, on the other hand, is someone *Tristram* does not warm to but is held up as an example of a clinical approach to the management task, and someone who would “*deliberately distance himself from the view of other design professionals and consciously avoided conjecture and opinion*”. So, are our architects reacting against a presentation or interpretation of management rather than management as an activity, since Bill’s approach remains a recognisable (and often very effective approach) to managing a team.

Turning to our engineers, here too there are language issues. But, language in the case of our engineers may serve to highlight certain issues from a different perspective. *Bismarck* and *Garibaldi*, between them, paint a picture of engineers being, perhaps, distrustful of an artistic or intuitive approach to management. *Bismarck* identifies the need for “*an organised and disciplined approach to management*” and *Garibaldi* sees “*risk*” as associated with an intuitive approach. There could be significance in this stance by our engineers if there is discomfort/lack of trust associated with what is perceived as an ill-disciplined approach to management activity. This association of risk with art is reinforced by *Garibaldi*, who explains his discomfort by explaining his preference for “*logical and scientific*” methods of working. There is, however, a sense that this mistrust of intuition is more to do with a need for hard facts. This predisposition to a factually based approach seems to go hand in hand with a pride in, what *Palmerston* describes as, “*down to earth*” qualities and, in his case a suspicion that those who espouse management without practical experience suffer from “*lack of practical management, but loads of management language*”. This, he sees, as “*professional management*” and not to be admired.

Both *Garibaldi* and *Bismarck* are comfortable with a scientific approach and see themselves operating in that half of the matrix. *Bismarck* is, however, the clearest of the two in eschewing discrete management and supportive of a complimentary style and approach. This thinking is echoed by *Metternich* who, though “*firmly in the scientific quadrant*”, sees

management at the heart of professional activity. A contrary view is, however, put by *Kissinger* who, whilst clearly identifying with a complimentary approach sees a scientific approach as “sterile”. He describes the artistic/intuitive approach as “more people based and qualitative” and “the most successful of the two styles of management”. *Kissinger*, both interestingly and (perhaps) significantly, talks about the “practicalities” of management. He also describes the need to move towards a discrete approach to management activity as multi-disciplinary working becomes more dominant “the proliferation of multi-disciplinary departments in local authorities and other organisations has changed the picture”.

This issue of complexity affecting management approach is reinforced by *Richlieu* who sees single discipline engineers able to operate comfortably where a “managerial activity is integral with professional activity, since this is core within their academic and, in particular, professional training”. His view that “engineers make good managers” is interesting, insofar as it does not extend to engineers who manage other professionals. *Richlieu* also explores the issue of *Bismarck’s* “professional manager” by recollection of a former colleague who, although armed with a “good MBA.....with a strong grasp of management techniques who was never able to fulfil his potential”. Explicitly, *Richlieu* ascribes this failure to an over-reliance on the scientific approach, but implicitly there are overtones about single dimensional relationships with colleagues and concerns about a distance from what *Kissinger* called “practicalities”.

The issue about the viability of our engineers exporting management approaches into other areas of construction work is also touched upon by *Bismarck*, who described problems he had experienced when taking over a new team, he was “surprised at the problems of definition of task”. This he saw as a discipline and organisational problem. What seems to be emerging from the responses from our engineers is that they see themselves as the custodians of organisation and discipline and tend to see other professionals as undisciplined, rather than employing a different discipline.

There is, however, an intriguing dichotomy which is evidenced by *Metternich’s* comments about administration, management and professional activity. Here, there are parallels with our architects views and the “boring end” of management is described by our engineers as administration and higher level management tasks as “essentially professional in character”. The dichotomy exists insofar as he sees himself and his colleagues operating in the scientific quadrant as managers but are more people focussed as professionals. This goes some way to explaining *Kissinger’s* comments about traditional management activity being “closely linked

to the professional activity" but does not completely remove the suggestion that engineers are more comfortable with the discipline of administration rather than people based management activity – particularly when managing outside the profession. The theme of management without conviction emerges part and parcel with *Palmerston's* "tick box and mechanistic" observation.

There are consistent themes emerging from our engineers. The first is a clear focus on the association of organisation and discipline with our engineers view of what constitutes sound management. The second is the essentially practical/hands-on flavour of managerial activity. The third is the suggestion that management activity, which is regarded as people focussed, is thought of as professional activity, but that administration is recognised as part and parcel of a disciplined and organised approach to management. The strong suggestion about the link between multi-disciplinary management and the discrete approach to management is clearly identifiable. Can these three themes be cross-referenced by our architects and surveyors?

Our architects seem to see the engineer's predilection for organisation and discipline as a natural consequence of their need for certainty and inclination to deal in tangibles this is almost an obverse of the creativity architects claim for themselves. *Galahad's* contrasting of the "emotional" involvement of the architect with the "numerate and detached" approach of the engineer, provides a perspective of this. Our architects also talked about there being less qualitative and more quantitative measurement of engineers activity and more precision. Our surveyors shared our architects view of engineers strengths in organisation and discipline and this is reinforced by overtones of practicality and reliability.

In terms of comfort (or otherwise) with routine management tasks (administration) there is a less than clear view from our architects and surveyors. Here, engineers are seen as diagonally opposite to architects (who clearly have difficulties in relating to what they see as an overly scientific or mechanistic approach) and causing concern to surveyors who see operating in the scientific quadrants as risking a reduction in professional activity.

A common theme, it seems, may not emerge for our engineers. There is, however, a firm link between the organisation and discipline which engineers claim for themselves (and which is acknowledged by other construction professions) and the hands-on practical approach seen as creditable by engineers (and perhaps surveyors) and unimaginative by our architects.

The second theme is something about the task of management, but it is not as clear as the issue of avoidance of unpopular tasks by architects. It is, perhaps, more about not seeing people based activity as managerial but professional. The necessary evil again emerges as a theme, management as a fashion. Also, and as noted earlier, the general suggestion about scale and complexity affecting managerial style is present in our engineering responses.

Now, turning to our surveyors. What emerges from our surveyors is, on the face of it, a curious sort of cohesiveness. We see surveyors adopting a deprecating stance "*amazed that you think I have the ability*" (Wellington), Rommel "*seeing surveyors as the grey man of the construction professions*" and Marlborough who sees management styles varying "*very much with the task*". Rommel feels this arises from the uncertain and ambiguous role which many surveyors have and the resultant "*need arises pragmatic approach*". This cohesiveness revolving around shared lack of certainty as to role resurfaces in Patton's comments "*we no longer have or can afford the luxury of the specialist position.*". Zhukov, on the other hand accepts a mixed economy of style, but sees this as resulting from differing personalities.

Wellington, returning to the lack of clarity in the role of surveyors, looks back to an earlier time when the architect was the undisputed leader of the design team. This suggests a managerial vacuum which surveyors may or may not aspire to occupy. A vacuum comfortably occupied by Patton, who's building degree "*featured a significant element of management theory*". An ambivalent attitude to managerial issues and priorities re-emerges in comments by Zhukov who equates management with non-fee earning activity "*I do not feel we can afford the luxury of a good number of staff managing*". Marlborough's view was that "*the only area where the two (professional and management activity) cross is in man management, particularly that of training, encouraging and developing personnel*". Marlborough also equates professional activity to fee earning activity.

An attitude of surveyors in management to clients is expanded on by Marlborough, who feels that marketing is distinct from the management of marketing which is "*part and parcel of the wider management role*" and to people by Wellington, who is "*basically people based and qualitative*". This qualitative, people based management theme is picked up by Rommel, who feels surveyors are comfortable with an intuitive approach, although he feels that surveyors, by and large, draw to a scientific approach. This ambivalence is drawn out by Napoleon who, by reference to Best Value, identifies a move into "*people related and*

qualitative areas as a precursor to success in tomorrow's Local Government". If there are any consistent themes emerging from our surveyors they are disguised effectively.

It is possible to see a lack of managerial identity and purpose deriving from an absence of clarity as to professional role and purpose. This itself probably flows from the surveyors role which, in construction, is principally one of support with leadership of the team normally reserved for architects and engineers. There is also a suggestion that it is fee earning activity which is the yardstick by which professional success is measured – almost the transatlantic "*billable hours*" concept, with management activity seen as a distraction. This does have some resonance with architects and engineers relegation of certain managerial tasks to the non-professional and uninteresting category, but falls short of the other professionals seeming denigration of management to a necessary fashion accessory. *Rommel's* description of the "*grey man of the construction profession*" appears sadly apposite.

Other professionals views of surveyors tend to reinforce the surveyors lack lustre impression on the professional construction world, with our architects seeing surveyors as "*quantitative*", "*numerate*", "*precise*", and "*scientific*" or, depending on viewpoint, "*obsessed by numbers*" and "*detail men*". Our engineers have no firm views of surveyors, which appears to be unintentionally akin to damnation by faint praise.

In terms of a return to the research question, it is clear that there is an ambivalence to management and management approaches and, whilst the almost stereotypical differences between the professions identify themselves throughout the narrative, the significant point is that these differences do not usually manifest themselves first in the context of management but in the context of professionalism. It is as if the important attitude set is professional when describing professionals and professions by professionals. The language is not normally that of management and where it is of management it is often in a narrow sense. There is also a consistency about the ambivalence of our professionals to management and management approaches which transcend intra-professional differences and opinions.

This ambivalence to management and the management approach manifests itself in a lack of respect, a misunderstanding of management activity and a subordination of management to administration tasks. This manifestation is an overlapping and mutually supportive position. For example, architects see management as subordinate to creativity. However, our architects may mean administration rather than management, since many higher level

management tasks, particularly in areas of people and client management are seen as professional.

Our engineers, on the other hand, whilst seeing the essential need for (administration) organisation and discipline as part of management, may distrust people based activity which is not normally defined as essentially managerial. Engineers and architects will therefore tend to agree that administration and organisation are managerial tasks, but disagree about how important they are, but will tend not to agree about the importance of people management whilst agreeing that it is not management.

Ambivalence is also evident in the distinction between management of small groups and management within a single profession, and management of larger groups and management of more than one profession. Here, either the latter is routine administration or unnecessary (since one's own profession can manage itself) and the former is too complicated (since other professions perhaps can't manage themselves) or simply too distracting and unexciting.

In terms of the view towards context and mindset, orientation and language issues, it is clear that woven into the responses there are clues as to our Seasoned Professionals' position. As the differences between the professions naturally emerged as a product of the question about ambivalence towards management and managerial approach, so the language issue particularly emerges as bi-product of the same discussion. Also, evidenced to some degree is the mindset and orientation dichotomy where there again emerges the fashionable and expedient reference to management terminology without the convincing overlay of belief. This overlay may, of course, be reduced because language or definition creates an imperfect understanding or grasp of precisely what the fashion of management and the managerial approach means.

The following Chapter will concentrate on mindset, orientation and language issues and therefore enable a distillation of the full answer to the research question in Chapter Ten.

CHAPTER 9 - OUTCOMES AND ANALYSIS : ASPIRANT PROFESSIONAL MANAGERS

Introduction

This group comprised architects, engineers and surveyors currently working in local government. The individuals were at a point in their careers where they were either contemplating a first move into a management position, or have recently made such a move. The method chosen to achieve a response from a numerically larger group was a questionnaire. The questionnaire is reprinted in full as Appendix A and A1 (Annotated). The emphasis of this, the final Chapter of the Outcomes and Analysis Trilogy, lies in gleaning an understanding of context against a backcloth of orientation, mindset and language issues.

In terms of selection, this was not a straightforward task and the method chosen was to identify a co-operative senior manager, brief him or her on the criteria for selection of respondees and solicit their good offices in securing and encouraging responses from their colleagues and (often) subordinates. Professionals from the following Local Authorities contributed responses:

Blackpool Borough Council	London Borough of Bexley
Bristol City Council	London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham
Cambridgeshire County Council	London Borough of Hillingdon
Cheshire County Council	London Borough of Newham
Cornwall County Council	London Borough of Redbridge
Cumbria County Council	Manchester City Council
Derbyshire County Council	Norfolk City Council
Devon County Council	North Yorkshire County Council
Durham County Council	Nottingham County Council
Essex County Council	Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council
Lancashire County Council	Preston Borough Council
Leeds City Council	Sheffield City Council
Leicester City Council	Stockton-on-Tees Borough Council
Lincolnshire County Council	Warwickshire County Council

Also, in terms of the sample (and indeed in terms of the outcomes and analysis) there is an important distinction to be made between indicative and quantitative results. It would be overselling the research outcomes if it were suggested that the analysis was anything more than indicative. That is not to say that interesting lessons were not learned from it. All in all, some 390 questionnaires were distributed to the Local Authorities listed above. There were 176 fully completed returns from individuals who fitted the criteria – Architects, Engineers and Surveyors – a response rate of 45%. Returns from Engineers numbered 99, with Surveyors contributing 44 and Architects 34 completed questionnaires. The disparity in numbers of submissions is disappointing but perhaps not surprising. The lack of surprise is partly a reflection of numerical differences in overall numbers employed in different sorts of work in Local Authorities – traditionally Engineering/highways budgets are larger than property budgets, for example. Also, contributing to the disparity is the numbers of Local Authorities who have outsourced services – a process which began first in architectural and property departments.

The outcomes in terms of orientation, mindset and language are attached as Appendices B, C and D. The analysis of the returns is structured on the triangulation principle, where the position(s) on orientation and mindset are established for the sample as a whole and for individual professions in order to provide reference points for analysis of language responses.

Orientation

Here, the intention is to establish to what extent the professions, as a whole and individually, are oriented towards management or towards professionalism. Statements can be analysed in pairs as follows:-

- Q1 to advance to the upper levels of management
- Q13 to establish a reputation as an outstanding professional

- Q3 to be evaluated on the basis of my management skills
- Q4 to be evaluated on the basis of my professional skills

- Q11 to develop and utilise recognised management skills
- Q6 to contribute to improving the built environment

- Q12 to enhance the reputation of my local authority
- Q7 to contribute to the workings of a professional body

It is possible to envisage four orientations: High Managerial/High Professional; High Managerial/Low Professional; Low Managerial/High Professional and Low Managerial/Low Professional. In practice it was anticipated that this would be a high professional orientation given the professional sample, but how would the sample stand on managerial orientation?

In terms of achievement (Questions 1 and 13), the following emerges in response to the statement: “It is important to me” -

Fig. 4
Achievement Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q1 to advance to upper levels of management	3.13	2.64	2.55
Q13 to establish a reputation as an outstanding professional	1.66	1.98	1.91

- where 1 = Strongly Agree
- 2 = Agree
- 3 = Tend to Agree
- 4 = Tend to Disagree
- 5 = Disagree
- 6 = Strongly Disagree

Thus scores of 3 and under indicate positive orientation (managerial or professional) and the lower the score, the higher the degree of orientation.

In the case of the achievement pairing of questions, all three professions provide responses in the HIGH/HIGH quadrant but there are two significant variations

- all three professions show a higher professional than managerial orientation in the context of achievement
- the Architects demonstrate the widest variation and highest professional orientation

In terms of evaluation (Questions 3 and 4) the following picture emerges in response to the statement –

Fig. 5 Evaluation Table

		Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q3	to be evaluated on the basis of managerial skills	2.59	2.60	2.61
Q4	to be evaluated on the basis of professional skills	1.52	1.75	1.80

In response to achievement, here again the professions describe themselves in the HIGH/HIGH quadrant with higher professional rather than managerial orientation. Our Architects continue to display a more marked professional orientation than the other professionals, although the differences are not as significant.

In terms of contribution the following emerges –

Fig. 6 Contribution Table

		Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q11	to develop and utilise recognised management skills	2.28	2.42	2.64
Q6	to contribute to improving the built environment	1.36	2.00	2.18

In looking at contribution Architects reassert a positive stance and, whilst all professions see professional orientation as being more marked than managerial orientation, our Architects adopt a more obvious position.

In terms of loyalty the position is not as clear, with both scores running positive in the HIGH/HIGH quadrant and no significant difference between professions as follows –

Fig. 7 Loyalty Table

		Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q12	to enhance the reputation of my local authority	1.82	2.15	2.09
Q7	to contribute to the workings of a professional body	2.09	3.07	2.82

Overall Impression

The overall impression is of three professions, each oriented in a positive way to both professional and managerial positions, but each somewhat more positively towards the former – and with Architects adopting a significantly more professional position. This is underlined by the individual averages which show a consistent response to managerial questions and a varied response to professional questions –

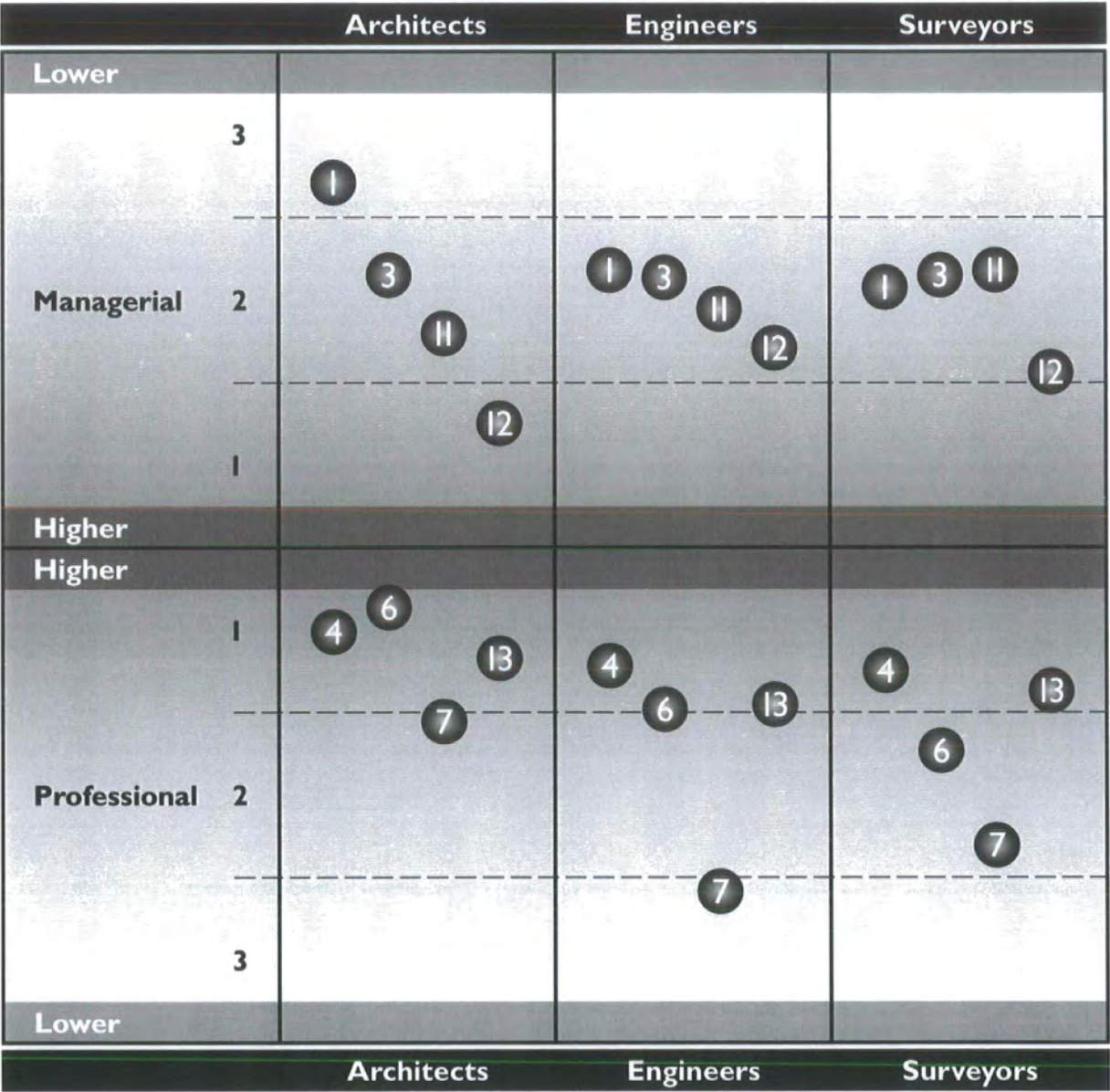
Fig. 8 Overall Orientation Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Managerial Orientation (average of four questions)	2.45	2.47	2.46
Professional Orientation (average of four questions)	1.65	2.20	2.17

The responses represented on a scattergraph illustrate this -

Fig 9

Orientation Scattergraph



We can also pick up some flavour in the responses from those statements which draw the most positive responses –

Architects - to contribute to improving the built environment

Engineers & Surveyors - to be evaluated on the basis of my professional skills

and those which draw the least positive responses –

Architects - to advance to the upper levels of management

Engineers & Surveyors - to contribute to the workings of a professional body

Fixing the Position – Orientation

It is possible to draw some early conclusions about the professions' position on Orientation –

- All three professions have a similar generally positive reaction to managerial orientation
- All three professions are more positively oriented professionally with Architects significantly the most positive
- Architects appear to have the least ambition managerially
- The weakest professional response from each profession is about contribution to their professional bodies
- Responses from Engineers and Surveyors show the greatest consistency with widest variation in responses coming from Architects

Mindset

Here, the intention is to find out something about the mindset of professionals in the context of managerial issues. What has been described as a mental framework (Herriot and Pemberton) but not straightforwardly (in that case) about professionals and managers, rather an adoptive position about professionals' attitude to management.

Some statements do have a clear relationship (and, again, the lower the score, the more positive the response), firstly –

Fig. 10 Approval Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q14 to gain approval of my colleague professionals	2.25	2.16	2.18
Q15 to gain approval of my line manager	2.24	2.18	2.32

The consistency of positive view as to the correlation in relative importance of the approval given by colleague professionals and line managers is significant. It also begs the question as to what would the attitude of professionals be if managers saw different priorities and for different objectives than their professional subordinates.

And, secondly –

Fig. 11 Credentialling Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q18 to have formal professional qualifications	1.50	2.35	1.77
Q19 to have management training	2.31	2.44	2.41

Here variations are obvious. Whilst all three professions are positive about the need for management training, Surveyors and, more significantly, Architects are substantially more positive about professional qualifications.

Some statements have a less obvious relationship (lower scores continue to indicate a positive response) –

Fig. 12 Complexity/Variety Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q16 to have a variety of projects and tasks on the go	1.76	2.19	2.16
Q31 to understand the full detail and complexity of the task in hand	1.61	2.02	1.86
Q32 to work on one task or project to completion	2.42	3.41	3.03

In response to these statements the Engineers and Surveyors are generally less positive than the Architects and all three professions are least positive about seeing projects or tasks through to the end. Perhaps the most significant reaction arises from the most professionally focussed of the questions – about detail and complexity – where our Architects are most positive of a generally more positive reaction. The stand alone statement about principles and pragmatism draws out a consistent lukewarm response.

Fig. 13 Principles/Pragmatism Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q25 to make principled rather than pragmatic decisions	3.26	3.24	3.09

and seems to indicate a helpfully balanced absence of zealots in our sample.

Architects display the widest variation of response, the top three scores being –

- to have formal professional qualifications 1.50
- to understand the full detail and complexity of the task in hand 1.61
- to have a variety of tasks on the go 1.76

In addition, being the most principled (although the Architects’ claim to the morale high ground is not statistically significant here).

Fixing the Position – Mindset

It is possible to draw some early conclusions about the professions position on mindset –

- that our Architects’ mindset is most often different to/more positive than the other two professions
- that there is most concern about possession of formal professional qualifications amongst our Architects
- that all three professions share broad agreement across a range of interest areas – such as attitude to management training

A Consideration of Language – The Reaction

In terms of the sixteen statements on language, the average scores (again lowest is most positive) show that Architects at 2.07 are generally more positive about the statements than Engineers (2.26) or Surveyors (2.31). This echoes the more positive reaction of Architects to orientation and mindset statements, but also draws out the continuing overall similarities between Engineers and Surveyors. However, a simple response is only a start point although it is helpful to have confirmation that our Architects' generally positive approach is consistent across the statements. Looking at the statements and ranking them in order profession by profession provides a start point for a more detailed analysis.

Fig. 14 Architects Statement Hierarchy

<u>Architects</u>	<u>Statement: It is important to me</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Score</u>
Strongly Agree	27 To plan and prioritise work	1	1.62
	21 To keep an overview of the whole process	2	1.69
	8 To decide on priorities for tasks	3	1.79
	24 To lead by example	4	1.94
	23 To keep the paperwork up to date	5	1.97
	28 To provide a source of motivation	5	1.97
Agree	10 To determine quality standards	7	2.00
	20 To have time and cost targets	7	2.00
	30 To understand colleagues work problems	9	2.06
	2 To anticipate client requirements	10	2.09
	5 To communicate the big picture	11	2.13
	9 To decide who does what and when	12	2.13
	22 To keep discipline	13	2.30
	29 To train and develop colleagues	14	2.42
	17 To have authority over the team	15	2.50
	26 To monitor individuals performance	16	2.53

Fig. 15 Engineers Statement Hierarchy

<u>Engineers</u>	<u>Statement: It is important to me</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Score</u>
Strongly Agree	8 To decide on priorities for tasks	1	1.84
	24 To lead by example	2	1.89
	27 To plan and prioritise work	3	1.92
	2 To anticipate client requirements	4	1.98
Agree	21 To keep an overview of the whole process	5	2.01
	28 To provide a source of motivation	6	2.17
	29 To train and develop colleagues	7	2.22
	20 To have time and cost targets	8	2.23
	30 To understand colleagues work problems	9	2.24
	22 To keep discipline	10	2.31
	5 To communicate the big picture	11	2.33
	10 To determine quality standards	12	2.37
	23 To keep the paperwork up to date	13	2.39
	9 To decide who does what and when	14	2.54
	17 To have authority over the team	15	2.88
	26 To monitor individuals performance	16	2.90

Fig. 16 **Surveyors Statement Hierarchy**

<u>Surveyors</u>	<u>Statement: It is important to me</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Score</u>
Strongly Agree	2 To anticipate client requirements	1	1.73
	21 To keep an overview of the whole process	2	1.77
	27 To plan and prioritise work	3	1.80
	8 To decide on priorities for tasks	4	1.84
Agree	24 To lead by example	5	2.18
	30 To understand colleagues work problems	6	2.23
	20 To have time and cost targets	7	2.27
	22 To keep discipline	8	2.30
	23 To keep the paperwork up to date	9	2.34
	5 To communicate the big picture	10	2.35
	28 To provide a source of motivation	11	2.39
	9 To decide who does what and when	12	2.50
	10 To determine quality standards	13	2.52
	28 To train and develop colleagues	14	2.66
	26 To monitor individuals performance	15	2.95
Tend to Agree	17 To have authority over the team	16	3.05

In terms of priorities each profession shows differences and similarities. Analysis of this follows –

Fig. 17 **Priorities - Overall Listing**

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q2 to anticipate clients requirements	10	4	1
Q5 to communicate the big picture	11	11	9
Q8 to decide on priorities for tasks	3	1	4
Q9 to decide who does what and when	12	14	12
Q10 to determine quality standards	7	12	13
Q17 to have authority over the team	15	15	16
Q20 to have time and cost targets	8	8	7
Q21 to keep an overview of the whole process	2	5	2
Q22 to keep discipline	13	10	8
Q23 to keep the paperwork up to date	5	13	10
Q24 to lead by example	4	2	5
Q26 to monitor individuals performance	16	16	15
Q27 to plan and prioritise work	1	3	3
Q28 to provide a source of motivation	5	6	11
Q29 to train and develop colleagues	14	7	14
Q30 to understand colleagues work problems	9	9	6

In terms of priority agreement across all professions on a spread of one basis, the following emerges –

Fig. 18 Priority Agreement One

Q17 to have authority over the team	A15	E15	S16
Q20 to have time and cost targets	A8	E8	S7
Q26 to monitor individuals performance	A16	E16	S15

In terms of priority agreement across all professions on a spread of two basis, the following emerges –

Fig. 19 Priority Agreement Two

Q5	to communicate the big picture	A11	E11	S9
Q9	to decide who does what and when	A12	E14	S12
Q27	to plan and prioritise work	A1	E3	S3

In terms of priority agreement across all professions on a spread of three basis, the following emerges –

Fig. 20 Priority Agreement Three

Q21	to keep an overview of the whole process	A2	E5	S2
Q24	to lead by example	A4	E2	S5
Q30	to understand colleagues work problems	A9	E9	S6

In terms of priority agreement across all professions on a spread of four basis, the following emerges –

Fig. 21 Priority Agreement Four

Q8	to decide on priorities for tasks	A3	E1	S4
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There are seven statements however which attract a less cohesive response –

Q2	to anticipate client requirements	(A10, E4, S1)
Q10	to determine quality standards	(A7, E12, E13)
Q22	to keep discipline	(A13, E10, S8)
Q23	to keep the paperwork up to date	(A5, E13, S10)
Q28	to provide a source of motivation	(A5, E6, S11)
Q29	to train and develop colleagues	(A14, E7, S14)

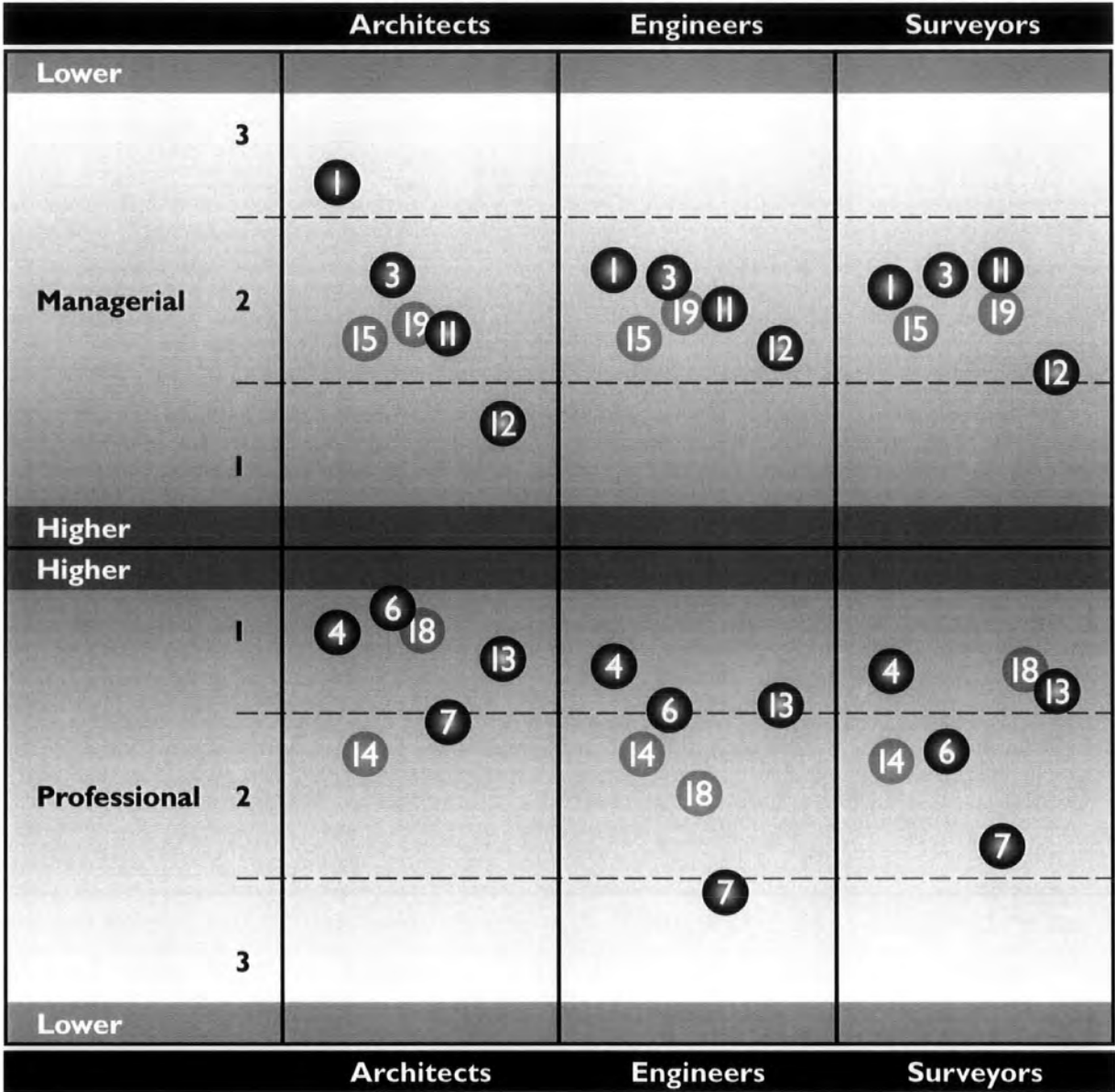
It may be useful, if possible, to identify responses which stand out. The high priority attaching to anticipating client requirements by Surveyors (and to a less extent Engineers) is markedly different to that of Architects, who seem to attach a higher priority to determining quality standards and keeping the paperwork up to date. On the face of it this seems to fly in the face of established inter-professional prejudice and accepted stereotyping.

Our Engineers and Surveyors, who broadly speaking seem more likely to share an opinion, see provision of motivation and training and development of colleagues in a similar relationship (E6/E7 and S11/S14). Our Architects, on the other hand, are stronger on motivation and relatively much weaker on training and development of colleagues.

At this point it may be useful to overlay the two most sharply focussed mindset questions onto the Orientation Scattergraph – questions about approval (where sought) and professional qualifications and management training (see over). It can be seen that our Engineers and Surveyors display a consistent bunching or tight grouping of responses where our Architects (again) display significant variations – particular in respect of professional mindset where gaining approval of colleague professions draws a lukewarm response.

Fig 22

Orientation Scattergraph - Mindset Overlay



Looking at questions which, part and parcel, explore attitudes to leading a team (rather than attitudes to leadership, which is perhaps different) we see some interesting results –

Fig. 23 Team Attitudes Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q5 to communicate the big picture	2.13	2.33	2.35
Q9 to decide who does what and when	2.13	2.54	2.50
Q17 to have authority over the team	2.50	2.88	3.05
Q22 to keep discipline	2.30	2.31	2.30
Q26 to monitor individuals performance	2.53	2.90	2.95
Q28 to train and develop colleagues	2.42	2.22	2.66

There is a degree of consistency here, both in terms of the response of each profession across the questions and indeed across the professions.

The average for our Architects is 2.33, with Engineers at 2.53 and Surveyors at 2.64.

Perhaps significantly all the above questions are language questions and the answers sit firmly at the least positive end of the continuum.

In terms of questions which may shed some light on independence or individual achievement, the following emerges –

Fig. 24 Individuality Table

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q4 to be evaluated on the basis of my professional skills	1.52	1.75	1.80
Q13 to establish a reputation as an outstanding professional	1.66	1.98	1.91
Q18 to have formal professional qualifications	1.50	2.35	1.77

Here we have a consistently positive view from each of our professions, with our Architects most positive. The issue of formal professional qualifications continues to highlight some differences however. Is this because Architects are jealous of their legally protected status and Engineers are most likely to be seen as a commodity – say as sanitation engineers, washing machine engineers or photocopier engineers? Or is it that architecture is the single profession and engineers and surveyors a mixture of different disciplines within one professional umbrella – Structural, Civil and Services engineers on the one hand and Land, Quantity and Building surveyors on the other?

Single Point Analysis

As with the two earlier Chapters in the Outcomes and Analysis trilogy, the single point analysis is a product of its focus on one element of our triangulated research. Also, and following on from the previous two Chapters which tended to provide emphasis to ambivalence towards management and to differences between our professions in turn, this Chapter looks towards finding an answer to the contribution of context to failures of professionals in management. That said, the Chapter, as with previous Chapters, will make a contribution to the research question in the round but its concentration on orientation, mindset and language issues necessarily militates against this.

Notwithstanding a narrowing of emphasis, there is a pattern or shape in the responses which allows, through interpretation, the formalisation of some views about attitudes of our three professions to management issues and which, may, looking at the Thesis as a whole, grant a broader perspective on attitudes of management training and development in our professions.

There is a basic caveat about achieving indicative rather than qualitative outcomes from this Chapter of the Thesis and herein the professions' Orientation may provide useful pointers as well as a baseline reference point. Not surprisingly perhaps, our three professions show a strong positive Professional Orientation and a weaker, but still Positive Managerial Orientation. There is, however, an interesting difference in evidence. Whilst each of our professions displays a consistent Orientation in a managerial context, there is a statistically significant variation in our Architects' professional orientation when compared to the other two professions.

Also, and when looked at in more detail, the Architects responses to managerial questions display the greatest variation. Thus, whilst the average is consistent across our three professions, the spread of opinion is not. The question which creates the weakest reaction amongst our Architects (and overall) is that which seeks to gauge ambition to advance to upper levels of management. The question which defines the highest rating (lying in the professional area of interest) is that which invites a response as to the importance of improving the built environment. This is also from our Architects. However, setting this to one side for the time being and turning to Mindset, it emerges that our Architects continue to be more positive in their response but, with the exception of the need for formal professional qualifications, are more consistent in their response, both in range and in keeping in step with their colleague professionals. The question about professional qualifications is an area which Architects are more sensitive about, perhaps because (and unique amongst professions) Architects are protected by law from the unregistered practising as "Architects". Interestingly, our professionals response to the need for management training, and the balance between pragmatism and principle, is consistent and uniform.

Before turning to the Language issue, it may prove useful to try and achieve an indicative summary of our three professions' orientations and mindsets in an attempt to derive a cohesive view of the standpoint of each of our professions, to better allow some conclusions to be drawn from the Language questions. On the face of it, there is little to distinguish between the standpoints of our Engineers and Surveyors. Their responses are broadly consistent and display a broadly similar overall attitude and approach to the questions put. Perhaps, significantly, this consistency and similarity extends to degrees of positiveness. Our Architects on the other hand are, generally, significantly more positive about professional issues, showing a noticeably stronger support for the professional standpoint. Their reaction to managerial standpoint questions is wider in spread of strength of agreement but more in line with their colleague professionals. On the basis of this piece of research, whilst claiming indicative value only, it seems that our Architects are more positively professionally disposed than either Engineers or Surveyors.

What can be derived from our Language questions? What are the differences which separate Architects from our other two professions? Here it may be helpful to begin with to look more closely at those areas where our Architects views differ most widely from those of our other two professions –

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Q2 | to anticipate client requirements | (less positive) |
| Q10 | to determine quality standards | (more positive) |
| Q23 | to keep the paperwork up to date | (more positive) |

Our Engineers display widest variation as follows –

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Q29 | to train and develop colleagues | (more positive) |
|-----|---------------------------------|-----------------|

and our Surveyors –

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Q28 | to provide a source of motivation | (less positive) |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------|

Taking the view that a less positive response is a good indicator of an area which would benefit from attention – for example being able to anticipate client requirements would be described as a pre-requisite for success in the wider professional world – we could perhaps think about ways of developing awareness in our Local Government professional Architects of this skill. Surveyors would, using this rough assessment, need to concentrate on developing their awareness of the need for motivation of colleagues in a managerial situation. Thus, taking a wider view of our professionals view of management activity, there are a number of areas where the response is weaker and is shared by two professions or common to all three professions. So, profession by profession, Architects in or contemplating a management role could benefit from the raising of awareness of the importance of the following (in order of relative weakness of response) –

- monitoring individual's performance,
- having authority over the team,
- training and developing colleagues,
- keeping discipline,
- deciding who does what and when,
- communicating the big picture,
- anticipating client requirements;

and Engineers from the following –

- monitoring individual's performance,
- having authority over the team,
- deciding who does what and when,
- keeping the paperwork up to date,

determining quality standards,
communicating the big picture,
keeping discipline;

with Surveyors weakest on –

having authority over the team,
monitoring individual's performance,
training and developing colleagues,
determining quality standards,
deciding who does what and when.
providing a source of motivation,
communicating the big picture.

There is a degree of consistency in these weakest response areas, as monitoring individual's performance, having authority over the team, deciding who does what and when and communicating the big picture are common issues across all three professions.

Keeping discipline is an issue for Architects and Engineers, but less so for Surveyors, whereas determining quality standards an issue for Engineers and Surveyors but less so for Architects and training and developing colleagues for Architects and Surveyors only. The weakness in response to the importance of anticipating client requirements, keeping paperwork up to date and providing a source of motivation is, however, confined respectively to the single professions of Architects, Engineers and Surveyors.

There are two separate threads or strands of enquiry indicated by the above. The first concerns direct people management issues – monitoring individuals, having authority and deciding who does what are commonly weak areas in all professions. Keeping discipline is also a people management issue and is a weaker interest area amongst our Architects and Engineers.

The second thread or strand revolves around the consistency of appearance of a weaker interest in communicating the big picture. This is a contextual issue, but when coupled to a weakness around training and developing colleagues, anticipating client requirements and providing a source of motivation, it may say something about individualistic or a self-contained view of work in practice. An individualistic approach could of course also suggest

a likely reduction in interest in hands-on people management issues and, perhaps, a difficulty in acceptance of this discipline by junior colleagues.

Early Thoughts About Context

As anticipated, and accepting its contribution to wider aspects of the research question, this Chapter and the analysis of its research sheds light on the rectitude of the assertion about the contribution of context to our professionals' failings in management. The decision to examine context through the mirrors of orientation, mindset and language has enabled a position to be established for orientation and mindset, which allows a more grounded analysis of language issues, recognising that language has provided a constant thematic influence as the Thesis has developed.

In terms of orientation, the professions are in close agreement and although managerial orientation is significantly weaker than professional orientation, the managerial orientation is identifiably positive. The difference between the professions in terms of orientation is probably more important in terms of understanding that the gap in orientation between managerial and professional is greatest for architects.

In terms of mindset, again our architects display the more positive reaction, but the general pattern is one of cohesion. This is interesting insofar as suggestions in Chapters Seven and Eight that professionals may pay lip service to managerial approaches (orientation) whilst not accepting the need for it (mindset) may not stand up to detailed examination.

In this, as in the previous two Chapters, some analysis has been undertaken from a single point perspective. Whilst this has been helpful in identifying some anchorages from which to launch some preliminary conclusions, the pulling together of the various threads and strands is a task waiting for the next and final Chapter.

CHAPTER 10 - TRIANGULATED ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND A VIEW TOWARDS MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT

Introduction and Recapitulation

By way of introduction to the final Chapter of the Thesis, it may be helpful to summarise the processes leading to its conclusion - both to discipline the research and to bring together the various strands which it comprises.

The Thesis began and the motivation to pursue it was triggered by events in Ruttlethire, which were presented in the form of a case study. The questions which flowed from the case study were as follows:

- *why is it that construction professionals are ambivalent about the idea of management and the managerial approach as a method of solving problems and achieving organisational aims and objectives?*
- *what are the differences in attitudes and approaches to management and managerial issues between architects, engineers and surveyors?*

At outset, there was a higher level aspiration to see if there are any lessons or pointers for the management development of our professions.

The chosen route forward was by way of literature search into three themes which had emerged from the Ruttlethire Case Study as being significant influencers or drivers of change. These triangulated perspectives also served to distance the writer from his experiential base and assisted the development of a wider perspective of the issue.

The literature based research in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 has enabled a refining of the issue and created a conceptual framework against which to move the research forward. The third component or target for the research flowed out of the refining of the issue in the shape of a statement -

- *It is an inadequate understanding of the contextual environment within which our professionals frame problems and provide solutions that is a principal contributor to failures in management.*

This statement, if confirmed, could further assist the higher level aim of drawing conclusions about a way ahead for the engagement in management by our professionals.

The broad methodological approach was based on a premise that ascertaining degrees of blindness to context/environmental issues would not be assisted by explicitly drawing attention to those factors as an issue. This premise, based as much on intuition as on hard evidence, does nonetheless draw support from the simple truth that it is normally easier to identify what is there, than what is not, but to draw attention to the shape of space too precisely will be to give away the answer. In practice this aim or aspiration was satisfied by approaching context in terms of orientation, mindset and language issues which had emerged as common themes in the three literature research Chapters.

The triangulated approach to the Thesis was continued in the Methodology which focussed on the issue from three viewpoints. The fixed point of the triangulation - the backbearing into Ruttleshire - was provided by a small sample group comprising six Professional Survivors of the changes in Ruttleshire. The basis of attack on this group was the semi-structured interview and the main thrust of the research here was around the first part of the research question concerned with ambivalence of professionals to management and the managerial approach.

The second triangulation point comprised a sample group of eighteen Seasoned Professional Managers, selected on the basis of their familiarity with management of professional departments in Local Government. Research here was based on the open interview. Here the focus was on differences between the professions and the second part of the research question, although the depth and colour of the responses provided much general background.

The final triangulation point found focus in the circulation of a questionnaire to aspirant professional managers which secured a response from 176 architects, engineers and surveyors working in local government and either in or contemplating a management position and its principal objection lay in seeking insights into context issues using the orientation, mindset and language triangulation as a means of levering out responses.

The details of the questions for the interviews and the construction of the questionnaire is set down earlier, but it is useful to remind ourselves that the key principle of triangulation

is the single point focus which, when combined with two additional points, will provide a fix on the position.

In order to conclude the research, therefore, it is necessary to focus on the subject of the Thesis, the research question, from each of the three triangulation points. This is the first purpose of this Chapter and is followed by consideration of the differences between our professions and lessons for management development. The Chapter concludes with some thoughts in summary and as to a way forward.

A Triangulated Perspective - A view on the Reasons for Ambivalence of our Professionals to Management and the Managerial Approach

This ambivalence or lack of engagement with management and the managerial approach emerged as a key issue from the Ruttlethire Case Study (Chapter One) and unsurprisingly perhaps the Ruttlethire Survivors, whose responses were reported and analysed in Chapter Seven, provided some of the clearest answers. These answers seem to derive from a narrow view of what management and the managerial approach was about, coupled to a confusion about where management began, administration stopped and professionalism took over. Overlaying this was a sense of disconnection such that professionals would distance themselves from responsibility for both the solution and, perhaps, more importantly, the framing of the problem. Reinforcement for this conclusion can be found in both Chapters Seven and Eight as well as in the parallel social commentary running through the Thesis in the form of Vignettes.

The second reason for ambivalence and lack of engagement with management, evidenced throughout, also emerges in the form of disconnection, but now as disconnection from the political dynamics. This is evidenced in a failure to draw the necessary links between managerial decisions and political imperatives. This has clear implications for conclusions about contextual awareness.

Third reason for ambivalence emerging from our Professional Survivors, and evidenced in part elsewhere and more often than not anecdotally, is the issue of management as a fad or fashion or (more charitably) as an expedient. This seems sometimes to go hand in hand with irritation with interference and challenge by third parties and elected Members. This irritation is confirmed by our Seasoned Professionals in Chapter Eight as the incidental nature of management and its implicit contrast with a professional approach which is not simply a means to an end. The fashionably view of managerialism is reinforced by

scepticism and the seeming choice which often presents itself to professionals in their responses which suggests either professional or manager, where professional is about product and manager is about process and which of course brings us back to the narrow view of management activity.

A form of ambivalence also emerges from our Seasoned Professionals, but not so from our Professional Survivors (perhaps due to the way the questions were framed) which indicates a distinction between management of a project and management of an organisation. This distinction can manifest itself as the differences between project management and (the pejorative) administration or between creativity and (the pejorative) bureaucracy. This ambivalence or failure to engage with management often suggests tensions and unwelcome choices.

There is also a palpable sense of management proper being reserved for large organisations or arrangements which require a multi-disciplinary approach. The corollary of this argument is that it (management) is not relevant for professionals of the same discipline working together. The contradictions in this position appear to be answered by the device of describing management activity in this environment as professional activity.

There are of course clear differences between our professionals as to their attitude to management such that ambivalence or failure to engage may depend on which particular professional is the subject of discussion and in what context. Paradoxically, there are clear indications throughout the Thesis that our professionals have a firm grasp of the sophistication of the managerial approach, but seem to lack the appreciation that in some curious way the individual elements do bind themselves together as a seamless mechanism for framing and solving problems as well as providing a boiler plate upon which to bolt processes. Around this paradox lie issue of definition (language) and perhaps differences between our professions. There are also issues around the emergence earlier on in the development of the Thesis of the predilection of professionals to pick up or discard management approaches dependant on preference or definition. This contains language/context elements

Something of the colour or flavour of the predilection of professionals to pick up or discard management appears as a subset of the discussions with Seasoned Professionals as to whether management compliments professional activity, is a substitute for it or, in some cases, is simply an alternative means of describing the same sorts of activity. There seems

to be no clear view by our professionals as to where lines should be drawn, or indeed whether they should be drawn at all, but there is evidence that indicates that preferences are informed as much by prejudices as by reasoning and that this, coupled to a narrow view of management activity in the round, creates a view of management as a lesser activity.

It may be, however, that this tendency to discount the value of management arises as much from ignorance as from prejudice, since ignorance of the breadth of a managerial definition of management is overlaid with ignorance of the full nature of problems against which managerial solutions are framed. This is a return to Schon's assertion about the unwillingness of professionals to engage with complex social issues and a different view of the apparent disconnection of professionals from elected Members. This, when taken together with our professionals seeming ability to rebadge the more popular elements of managerial activity as professional activity and downgrade routine or distracting managerial tasks to administration, creates a picture of professionals at ease with an imperfect relationship with management and an unsurprising ambivalence towards it.

In terms of the apparent heightened ambivalence to management by architects, who seem to stand at a more extreme point on the continuum when compared to the other professions, alternative interpretations are possible. The first interpretation is that indeed architects are more ambivalent to management than their colleague professionals. The second is that the ambivalence is more about numeracy, discipline and organisation and this view is reinforced by the ambivalence reflected in our architects' attitudes to colleague professionals in this regard. The third and overlying inference is that, since architects' responses tend towards the more extreme end of the range in any event, any minor differences become exaggerated. This second view of the reasons for our architects' ambivalence being heightened by a natural nervousness about organisation and discipline enjoys wider currency when set alongside their colleague professionals' parallel nervousness about the use of intuition in management and its connotations of risk taking and the assumption that (say) engineers make good managers because they have discipline and, despite the acknowledgement that architects look after their clients, architects do not.

Turning to Chapter Nine outcomes and analysis to see what can be gleaned from the responses of our Aspirants as to the reasons for ambivalence towards or lack of engagement with management and managerial activity a somewhat clouded picture emerges. This lack of clarity is partly about the consistent differences between architects on the one hand and their areas of ambivalence and engineers and surveyors on the other. It is also partly

because ambivalence as a negative tends to be identified by default rather than as part of a positive recognition process. That said, indicated ambivalence to or lack of engagement with management across all professions seems to lie in areas of monitoring individual's performance, having authority over the team, deciding who does what and when and communicating the big picture. Individually, architects are weak on discipline (a helpful confirmation), but so are engineers (which is against expectations). Quality standards are issues for engineers and surveyors with training and development linking surveyors with architects. Paradoxes also occur, since architects are weaker on anticipating client requirements and engineers on the paperwork. Surveyors, as self-confessed grey men, offer no surprises as motivation is not an area in which they are long suited.

On the face of it, the responses from our Aspirants do not contribute to our understanding of ambivalence insofar as they can contradict or, at least, fail to support some of the indications as to the nature of the underlying reasons for ambivalence from our previous two groups. There is, perhaps, an answer to this additional paradox. The previous two groups it is suggested have an imperfect grasp of what management is, as defined by managerialists. Also, there is a tendency to ignore management where it moves into problem framing and solution forming in extra-professional areas. This, when considered alongside the ability to pick and chose which tasks are to be described as managerial and which as professional and which as administration and which not acknowledged as tasks in any form, creates a mismatch between the responses of our previous two groups and our Aspirants. The Aspirants were, it must be remembered, simply asked to respond in the context of a task without the benefit of a third party label as to whether it sat in one defined area or another.

It is possible to infer therefore that the underlying reasons for ambivalence or failure to engage with management and the managerial approach lies around a basic misunderstanding of what it is and what (contextual) approach is necessary to frame problems appropriate to it. If this misunderstanding is amplified by insecurity created by external pressures and mistrust generated by internal rivalry, coupled to the ability to exercise individual discretion in responding to both management issues and the challenges that surround it, then we may have a less clouded indication of the nature of the issue.

A Triangulated Perspective - A View on the Differences in Attitudes and Approaches between the Professions

The differences between our professions in terms of attitudes and approaches to management also arose as an issue in the Ruttleshire Case Study, but perhaps not in a crystallised form. The absence of solidity upon which the question was based arose as a result of the explicit similarities displayed by each profession in its response to the changes, contrasted with the implicit and subtle differences in reaction and adoption which followed.

The broadest examination of the differences in attitudes and approaches flows from Chapter Eight and our Seasoned Professionals, since the existence of differences provided a route to tease out more general responses, however contributions emerge as strands, themes and issues throughout the development of the Thesis.

In this part of the conclusion there is therefore a bringing together of the views of our professionals of each other (Seasoned Professionals), an interpretation of the different ways our professionals may have reacted to pressures of change (Professional Survivors and a sight back into Ruttleshire), together with the analysis of the returns from our Aspirants. In revisiting the responses of our Seasoned Professional Architects, there is a sense that there is some sort of struggle going on. There are uses of words such as "dominant" and "subordinate" to describe the relationship between management and professional activity (Percival). Arthur doubts "whether management is a primary function" and talks of a procession (hierarchy) of activity. Galahad sees professional and managerial roles as "not sitting easily together" and management as "incidental". That said, there is a view of the "necessity" of management (Tristram). There is also an implicit and occasionally explicit scepticism about management activity - "a means to an end" (Galahad) and Gawaine's "healthy scepticism" of management books.

The apparent distinction between the management of an organisation and the management of projects (Tristram) allows our Architects to relegate administration tasks and organisational issues to those of a lesser status and to reserve client relationships and leadership of the project team to higher levels. And to describe this higher level activity as essentially professional. This view also allows the Architects to maintain a distinction between people based activity and sterile administration. The views of themselves as managers reinforces our Architects position: Galahad's view that "he would rather be working on a project" and, at times, regards management issues as a "distraction, which must be endured" echoes Percival's assertion that architects are "reluctant to forego

involvement in design for management activity". That many managers would consider many aspects of design activity as management is (seemingly) not recognised.

This view of the managerially disinterested architect concentrating on his clients is picked up by our engineers and surveyors amongst our Seasoned Professionals. So there is confirmation here, but what of our sight back to our Professional Survivors and into Ruttlethire? On the face of it, our Professional Survivor Architects do set themselves apart from the other two professions in certain areas. The agreement as to the scale and significance of the changes in Ruttlethire was agreed, the reasons behind it were not and the differences of opinion were most obvious between our architects and engineers. The engineers could not easily come to terms with the suggestion that their inefficiency could have been a contributory factor in stimulating the need for change. The architects, on the other hand, were relaxed about it. Interestingly, our Surveyor, seen as the 'grey man' by our Seasoned Professionals, is apparently confirmed in that role by occupying the middle ground of opinion (where expressed) amongst our Professional Survivors too.

Returning to the apparent readiness of our Survivor Architects to accept their inefficiencies may not, however, be all it seems. If our Architects accept the results of inefficiency more readily because they do not see that it is an issue for them, then this would both explain the paradox and in turn highlight our Engineers relative resistance to the suggestion of inefficiency, since (and referring back to our Seasoned Professionals) there seems to be an acceptance by Engineers of more responsibility in this regard. This view of a more responsible engineer is reinforced by our Seasoned Professionals as a group who variously attribute differing levels of motivation to each other in connection with this issue.

A reluctance of architects to engage with management activity is seen by our Engineers as lack of discipline and there is a suggestion that there may be an element of wilfulness in this disregard of responsibilities. There is a parallel acceptance by our Engineers that architects do "look after" client relationships, although and (perhaps) significantly this is not described in the context of management as a recognisable activity by either group.

The Engineer's view of architects as "anything but managerial" clearly raises issues of language and in terms of differences between our professions highlights both the differences and similarities. Also, and at this stage, it is probably worth remembering that our Surveyors appear to have no strong views, save a general but weaker agreement with the perceptions of architects and engineers, each of the other. There is also no strong views

about their, the surveyors, view on this area of activity. That is not to say that our Surveyors do not contribute to an understanding of the issues, more that they contribute at lower volumes with less flamboyance. Of course, stronger opinions are more likely to assist the research, which tends to further overshadow their contribution, but in terms of considerations about the differences and similarities between our Architects and Engineers we see clear differences in the way our Engineers perceive our Architects attitude to management activities, but broad similarities in the sense that, the way the differences are described, there is a shared language or definition difficulty.

Engineers clearly have views of themselves. A view expressed by Bismarck and Garibaldi about the distrust and risk of intuition and the need for discipline, organisation, science and logic seems to find resonance amongst all our Engineers, save insofar as there also seems to be some acceptance of the need for a qualitative, people-based approach. On the face of it, there seems to be a paradox here. The answer may of course be that engineers are more content to wrap up administration part and parcel with their normal professional activities and, rather than denigrate or relegate it, regard it as an essential contributor to a disciplined and managed professional approach, whilst at the same time not seeing people-based/qualitative issues as having managerial overtones. There is some evidence for this interpretation, as the other professions both see engineers are more comfortable with tangibles and less comfortable with qualitative balancing and consideration. If that were the case then engineers would see themselves as more managerial and architects as less managerial (being less comfortable with qualitative issues), although in practice both have a flawed or incomplete grasp of what comprises full spectrum managerial activity and derive their adoption or otherwise of its components as management on the basis of preference, predilection or simply whether it is fulfilling or enjoyable. Thus, in a curious application of logic, what binds them together (the tendency to prioritise management activity by preference) also serves to differentiate because of differing preferences. Here, there is resonance with a similar conclusion arrived at from a different perspective. There are also indications of this dichotomy in the Vignettes (as a parallel commentary rather than as evidence).

However, prior to delving into the responses from the questionnaire analysed in Chapter Nine, some broad confirmation of the relative perceptions of architects and engineers are available from our Seasoned Professional Surveyors. It could be that the value in these perceptions are enhanced by detachment and a general low key and unassuming perception of their own profession. Our Surveyors' perceptions of architects are that they are not

"natural managers outside the design environment" (Rommel) and "who could adopt an approach to management was pretty much to ignore it" (Malborough). Zhukov sees a "strong client focus" from architects and "order and discipline" from engineers. These themes are echoed by the other Surveyor contributors.

The returns from our Aspirant Professional Managers bring out a range of differences and similarities between our professions. Again, it is the differences and similarities between architects and engineers which present the widest variation and best opportunity. Although our "grey man" surveyors alone place anticipating client requirements as priority 1, despite the evidence which suggests that this is architectural territory. The architects, in turn, see keeping the paperwork up to date as more important (5) than the engineers or surveyors (13, 10). Although identified as a paradox above, it nonetheless provides further confirmation in the responses from our Aspirants such that we can see a continuation of this pattern of agreement about management activity by preference and varying interpretations of what constitutes management as a full range activity. Here, it is appropriate to first remind ourselves of the similarities between our professions. We see strongest agreement about having authority over the team, having time and cost targets and the need to monitor individual's performance. We also see broad agreement about communication, allocation of tasks and planning and prioritisation and weaker, but indicative shared views about overviewing the process, leading by example and understanding colleagues' problems. What we also see is that in areas of agreement we have a relatively weak prioritisation of the activity with the majority of responses sitting in the lower half of the priority table. Also, and perhaps significantly, in terms of some high priority/high agreement statements there is scope to interpret a self-management rather than a general management perspective, say in the case of planning and prioritisation and keeping an overview of the process, and this in turn reinforces the indicative issue about differentiation between management in general and management of a project.

In terms of the differences between our professions in the way tasks are prioritised we can identify areas around anticipating client requirements, determining quality standards, keeping discipline, updating paperwork, motivating and training of colleagues. This is consistent with indicative responses from the other two triangulations and also provides confirmation of our engineers' discipline and our architects' people focus, save the relegated client requirements response (unless, that is, there is mischievous arrogance in the presumption that the architect knows what the client wants and the real purpose of client liaison is to persuade the client that this is so). That said, the Aspirant Architects

consistently present the widest range of responses and therefore least cohesive view of the management activity. Identifiable differences notwithstanding, it is possibly the areas of common ground across our professions which may yield the necessary insight into a means of identifying a way forward for the research. This identification of common ground is, of course, a corollary of the differences or shades of differences between our professions.

That our professions have different views of what constitutes management activity and professional activity may not necessarily relate to different levels of understanding from one profession (or professional) to another, it could be that our professionals are conditioned by the environment in which they practice. Engineers, for example, would typically work in larger teams on major projects whereas architects are more often engaged on smaller schemes working alone or with limited support. This difference in scale and complexity of relationships is occasionally reflected back in the responses and conditions the perceptions one of the other. Architects, for example, are more likely to find themselves working with lay clients whereas engineers normally receive briefs from educated clients, often with engineering backgrounds. This in turn leads to a concentration on process by engineers, whose clients often have a detailed knowledge of the way projects are progressed, and a concentration on outcomes by architectural clients who may have a less than clear understanding of the necessary processes, but a firm view of what they want, what they can afford and, equally as important, when they want it. This may suggest that differences between our professions in the way tasks are prioritised (and indeed the relative willingness to adopt (say) discipline) is a product of the style and approach necessary to succeed in a given environment or within a given client relationship. This means that the individual or single professional differences in attitude to (say) managerial tasks is less significant in the detailed variation but more significant as a variation in absolute terms. If this is so, and there is evidence available from most areas of the research to suggest that it is, then we find ourselves focussing on some clear and generic issues which construction professionals have with management and a managerial approach. For example, the lukewarm response of architects about gaining approval of colleague professionals is more easily explained by their more often working alone. As are weaker responses to the need to train and develop colleagues. This would also explain the (perhaps) paradoxical importance attached by architects to keeping the paperwork up to date, if it were more likely that they would have to do it themselves.

Variations between the professions aside, there are recognisable threads emerging from this triangulation. The first is that our professionals as a group do not have clarity about what a

manager would describe as management activity. Some management tasks are described as professional tasks (which they may of course be) and some as administration (which is also true), but there is an absence of full connection with the managerial perspective of how this range of tasks, described as a managerial approach, holds together. In part this is a language issue - insofar as there are clear issues about jargon and definition, but in part it may be about a lack of recognition of a parallel value system, which has grown in credibility over recent years as a means of providing solutions to what, historically at least, have been professionally framed problems, which is management and the managerial approach.

A Triangular Perspective - It is an Inadequate Understanding of the Contextual Environment within which our Professionals Frame Problems and Provide Solutions that is a Principal Contributor to Failures in Management

The third component of the research question, relating to the significance of context did not arise at outset from the Ruttlethire Case Study, but emerged later as a crystalising statement which flowed from the refining of the issue and thoughts on an appropriate conceptual framework. Hindsight, of course, is suggestive of the clear existence of this issue in the Ruttlethire Case Study as it would be of the use of orientation, mindset and language issues to gain a fix on context with our Aspirant Professionals. Contextual understanding is nonetheless an elusive target and it will necessitate something of an iteration to have understanding sufficient to produce a conclusion.

In looking for the significance of context amongst our Aspirants it is first necessary to fine tune the examination of the data, not least because we see shades of positive and, for the vast majority of responses, all our professionals support the statements. This is, perhaps, to be expected since it would be difficult to tempt a negative response to a statement which encourages agreement from anyone other than the disillusioned or demotivated. This is, however, a significant difference in key areas as to degree of positive. Herein lies a means of setting out the first sight line by refocusing on contextual/environmental issues mindful that, arguably, a 'tend to agree' response in a practical sense is differentiable from the more positive 'agree' and 'strongly agree'.

The first curiosity that emerges from a revisiting of orientation and mindsets emerges from the significantly more positive orientation towards professional activity and correspondingly weaker orientation managerially (particularly so when the issues of contribution to a professional organisation is discounted - Architects enjoy legal protection and this may distort the responses). This contrasts with that of mindset where a less clear picture

emerges. Interestingly, the relative differences between the professions remain broadly constant across the two attitude sets, which tends to suggest that this relative difference between the two may be a fair, and certainly a balanced, representation of the position. There are also local variations. For example, the consistently even response about gaining approval of colleague and line managers contrasts significantly from the variation around evaluation on the basis of managerial skills (weak) or professional skills (strong). This tends to suggest that the answer to question about maintaining the balance of approval between professional colleagues and line managers (put but not answered on page 167) is likely to fall professionally when the individual is tested rather than managerially, such that when pushed to an either/or choice the dice will roll in favour of professional approbation.

That there may be a paradox between orientation and mindset is not, however, explicable from the responses. Whether it is explicable by reference to the other triangulations is explored below. The most likely answer seems to be that our professionals tend towards saying the managerially fashionable, whilst maintaining a view which is broadly professional in outlook. It does have relevance to contextual issues, because it may suggest that our professionals adopt learning by rote rather than by development of understanding of the underlying drivers for change in their environment. This could in turn lead to a flawed framing of the problem. Can we find evidence of this? Our parallel sociological commentary as set down in vignettes may provide an additional perspective.

In terms of our Professional survivors, evidence is provided by descriptions of managerial behaviour being about replacing administration and bureaucracy. There is, however, no consensus acceptance of the need for efficiency improvements and the outcomes are more likely to be described in terms of service improvements and the threats in terms of loss of autonomy. And here there is clearly a mismatch between the growing need to provide what the customer wants and retained professional autonomy. Importantly, what may be the obverse of this attitude set is the disconnection evident in the failure to understand the link between improved services and efficiency and effectiveness gains. There is a feeling that our professionals can see these states of grace as being mutually exclusive. There was also a further confusion and this revolved around a lack of understanding about where the authority derives from to challenge a colleague professional's work. As the writer muses on this he recalls two separate conversations around responsibility and accountability with professional colleagues. The first was with a Local Authority Director of Finance, who managed the Authority's fund through budget lines and sought what he described as "accountability" from individual budget holders in service departments. He saw himself as

“professionally responsible” for finances and took issue at the suggestion that, from a managerial perspective, it was not robust and that accountability was not capable of delegation, but responsibility was. The semantics disguised or overlaid the deeper issue which was that if Service Heads (Directors of Education, Social Services, Housing, etc) were accountable/responsible for finances, then the financial function would be seen as subordinate or supportive, rather than driving or leading. The Authority would become Service Lead rather than Finance Led – with all that would imply for the professional accounting structure and reporting arrangements presently in place.

The second was with a senior architect who had a different view of what represented an acceptable design for a new build project. In simple terms the client couldn't afford some of the enhancements which he thought essential to the 'integrity of the scheme'. The conversation did not go smoothly and the issue crystallised down to one of principle. And that revolved around the question of the rectitude and authority for overruling professional judgement. The rectitude of the decision to overrule was a matter of judgement as to whether we should ask the client for more money. The authority was about who should prevail and on what grounds – by what right? This was resolved on the basis of accountability – that the manager was accountable (in a Local Authority context) for the decision. The architect made the point during the course of the debate (which enjoyed its heated moments) that in private practice it would be the professionals' judgement which would dominate. There was, however, no acceptance (or perhaps understanding) of the concept of managerial accountability. Or may be that, if there was understanding there was difficulty in accepting that professional judgement may be required to be subordinate to it. Perhaps a diversion into the Ruttleshire Experience will shed more light on issues of responsibility and accountability.

Some reinforcement of the proposition that it is a difference in understanding about who is accountable to whom about what between our professionals and their managers emerges at the beginning of the Property Services restructuring. The Assistant Chief Executive's comments about not needing an architect to brief an architect makes the point in one way. The view of the senior management of the authority about lack of leadership and management control, coupled to the concerns about structure, attitude and working practices, sits at odds with the lack of identification with the problem by those in senior positions within the department itself. The telling point, in the context of this particular discussion, lies in the Assistant Chief Executive's comment about responsibility of managers to manage and the welcoming of sharper accountability for team performance and budgetary

control. Interestingly, team accountability issues are not picked up in the response of the professionals, although a drive to multi-disciplinary teams is resisted in favour of maintenance of the current single construction profession groupings. The one dissenting voice, a non-construction professional, refers to the inability of the (then) Director to persuade his professional colleagues to change away from a traditional structure and become more client oriented.

There was also a protracted debate built around the professionals' view of the unnecessary imposition of a client function to sit between the Service Departments and the construction professionals who undertake construction related professional services on their behalf. The debate revolved around budgetary control arguments, but in practice it was as much about accountability.

But why would Members want to see an additional link in an already extensive chain of activity between the (say) decision to build and (say) the handover ceremony? The proponents of the new arrangements are talking up response, better management, enhanced controls and improved accountability. But, importantly, the trial of the new arrangements which began with Property Services was extended a further three times over a period of 8 years, surviving a change of political control and Chief Executive, so it is logical to assume it was adjudged to have been a success and achieved its objectives as stated and restated.

It is tempting to infer from this debate and subsequent permanent change in roles and relationships, that the Council had determined to impose corporate controls and accountability onto both the professionals and Service Departments for whom they worked. There is, notably, no defence of the status quo from Service Departments, despite (anecdotal) evidence that they were lobbied by the construction professionals for support in this. What seems clear is that the senior professionals engaging in the debate do not see why the Council had concerns about the status quo. It is portrayed as an attack on true professionalism and the criticism is devalued by accusations of lack of understanding about the process. That our construction professionals had missed the point is clear from the unfolded history. But what if apparent professional intransigence was less about obstinacy and was more about lack of understanding. What if it was a communication issue – an issue of language?

If so, the language would be that of responsibility and accountability. But how would it fit with the issues of Context. In terms of Context, a clouded understanding of responsibility

and accountability would likely exacerbate any problems or misunderstandings or lack of awareness which may exist. This may also create People Management problems, where a failure to fully communicate the nature of the relationship where the accountable is not that which is easily recognisable by, or acceptable to, construction professionals, would likely create difficulties and misunderstandings --particularly with less senior staff, whose inclinations would be towards clear and understandable roles, rules and relationships.

In terms of our Seasoned Professional Managers there are a number of comments emphasising the subordinate and utilitarian contribution of management skills. The creative and problem solving elements of work appear to be reserved for essentially professional activity. There was also a suggestion from some that management was more about a need to respond to scale and an occasionally explicit, but mostly implicit, view that management activity and professional activity are mutually exclusive and that some higher level tasks (leadership, client liaison and so forth) were seen as essentially professional in character.

This is relevant, insofar as it is reinforced by the individual views of our Seasoned Professionals about whether management is a discrete activity and what management tasks comprise it. There is a sense that there is no consensus view as to what management is about and at what point it overlaps with or is subsumed into professional activity. A form of disconnection is also evident amongst our Seasoned Professional Managers, since management is often described in terms which suggest it is outside professional activity and imposed where there is a need to bind individual professionals together - whether because of scale or because of a multi-disciplinary requirement or because of the need to establish a link to the separate, but subordinate, administration activity. There is also a sense that management is remote (disconnected) from hands-on professional work. A review of the vignettes also reveals a number of instances of ambivalence, disconnection and adoption of management terminology without a full understanding of what management means to managers. This is evidenced, in part, by a number of examples where and faced with a management issue to resolve it was translated into a process divided into detailed and incremental stages - a bureaucratisation of (what could have been) an intuitive holistic process.

In returning to context proper and moving on from the discussion about a lack of understanding of a connection with managerial approaches, the writer is reminded of two sequential but unconnected discussions on Radio 4 on the morning of 15th October 2000,

which revealed a changing appreciation of context and the ways in which this was influenced by public perceptions over time. The first was with government minister Nick Raynsford who was, through John Humphrys, trying to extol the virtues of an injection of private sector project management skills into Air Traffic Control and found himself facing a two-pronged attack. First, that it was dangerous – supported by the independent professionals (British Airline Pilots Association). Next, that the injection of private management expertise doesn't work – citing RailTrack and also, by implication, questioning safety. Nick Raynsford's defence was essentially that things were different now – times and circumstances – that the context was changed. This discussion was immediately followed by the President of the Law Society defending ambulance chasing lawyers who, in his defence, cited Mrs Thatcher's changes of rules allowing professionals to advertise: "*at one time we couldn't even hand out calling cards*", and the basic premise that lawyers are there to provide a service. If we now have a compensation culture then lawyers should be there to respond to it. He finished by saying that "*things are very different now*". This leads us back into our professionals' contextual awareness and understanding of environmental issues. Or as our statement suggests, the lack of it. We have seen indications that problems with context and problem framing could arise as a result of a misunderstanding of management activity, a failure to comprehend that activities labelled as professional or administrative (and compartmented as such) are in practice part of a continuum of skill deployable in framing and solving problems.

The start point for the development of this part of the discussion is the sixteen language/reaction questions asked of our Aspirant Professional Managers. These questions were intended to tease out contextual/environmental issues via a tangential approach rather than stimulate a conditioned response through head on attack. The weakest response areas across all three professions are monitoring individual's performance, having authority over the team and communicating the big picture. It is the last response which is clearly most significant in our consideration of contextual awareness - that it is so far down the priority list that there is little motivation to communicate it. But context is also about understanding the interaction with colleagues necessary to achieve a satisfactory outcome and this is not simply about satisfying the individual's professional standards, it is about providing what the client wants and needs. In terms of context we see a range of weak responses around monitoring, training, authority over the team, discipline, allocation of tasks, motivating and developing colleagues and determining quality standards. These are mostly people management issues, but in a people business it may have been expected to figure more prominently. Unless, either it is assumed each individual is responsible for his

or herself or the professionals do not see what they do as providing a service but rather see it as delivering a standard product irrespective or regardless of context.

Turning away from our Aspirants, whose view of these issues is from a less experienced standpoint, we now see what our Seasoned Professionals can tell us about contextual and environmental awareness. The first illustration about the Architect who justifies overspending on grounds of his professional judgement and integrity (p136) provides a flavour of the tension between professional autonomy and environmental imperatives. As does Bill's battle for design quality (p137), which contrasts (helpfully) with Roy's distancing himself from design professionals in order to better balance priorities. The second illustration flows from Wellington's assertion (p148) about finding out that a professional qualification does not provide all the answers and his story about the young surveyor not appreciating the clients main concerns were not the building itself, but the ease of travel to it.

What seems to be emerging from an iteration through the contextual arguments is that there are potentially both internal and external perspectives of context issues by our professionals. The internal perspective is about the individual's contextual awareness of the problem as defined and the external perspective is about the contextual awareness of the problem framed. In a sense it's about scoping the problem, recognising the context of the problem and scoping the solution to fit the context. It does not sit altogether comfortably with standard professional solutions to standard problems.

A Triangulated Conclusion

At this point in the development of the Thesis there is a need to bring the three strands of the research question together and identify one or more core issues or factors which enjoy a profile or a significance in terms of the whole or some of the parts of the research question. Firmly in focus at this stage of the Thesis is the aspiration to find or identify lessons or pointers to assist our professionals engage with and develop into management.

At the end of the preceding section there was an early conclusion or firm thought about internal and external context relating to problem solving and problem framing being significant. This could also be viewed in terms of narrow (the solution) and wide (the problem). In terms of professionals and management awareness we also have a wide and narrow understanding of what management is about and what it means.

Interestingly, whilst awareness of the full range of management and managerial application could be described as a continuum, the recognition that the first critical test of contextual awareness is not. One either sees the full nature of the problem or one does not. This is ultimately dependant on vision, but at an elementary level it exists as a willingness or otherwise to leave the professional comfort zone of process and standardised solution and engage with the issue as a concept. This is a substantial context issue and it seems to lie at the heart of the research question.

In terms of the ambivalence part of the research question, it is clear from the evidence that many professionals simply do not have sufficient understanding of what management and the managerial approach is about. It is clear, however, that individuals have an individual grasp of key components of a managerial approach, but that this grasp does not necessarily extend to linking all components together and understanding their relationship.

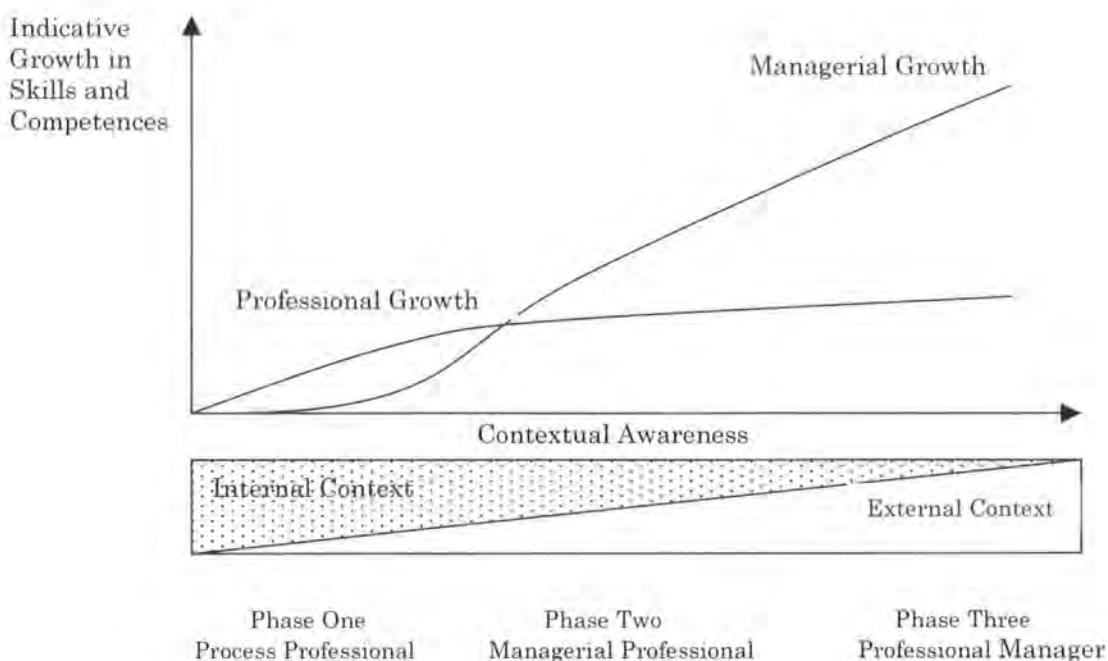
Language and definition issues are critical and, with the absence of a shared understanding of meanings and relationships and overlaps with traditional professional activity, the individual managerial tasks are often not recognised as such but described in the context of administration or in the context of mainstream professional activity. Here we seem to have stumbled across a further internal/external paradox where internally we have the context of management or: 'how do the processes work together?' and externally we have management in context which looks towards placing management in an understandable and balanced relationship with both professionals and the problems they face on behalf of their clients.

The bringing together of the strands continues to broaden the use of contextual issues to explain our professionals' problems with management. Also, as these strands come together so the differences between the professions both decline in importance and are explicable for a range of reasons unconnected with the issue. That is not to say that the differences are not significant and it may be that in identifying ways forward for management development of our professions it needs addressing, but the almost stereotypical categorisation of good and bad professional managers based on professional background is difficult to substantiate. Substantiation, however, on grounds of poor or better contextual awareness would now be an easier task.

At this point of the research the researcher offers up a continuum based on internal/external contextual awareness issues to illustrate a potential route to a professional/managerial state

of grace. The continuum approach is offered as a means of illustrating relationships and movement over time.

Fig. 25 Managerial Growth Continuum



It is proposed to use the above continuum to respond to the challenge regarding identifying a way forward to better engage construction professionals with management and the managerial approach, a form of management development.

A Way Forward for Management Development and Thoughts on Triangulation as a Research Technique for the Post-experience Researcher

The continuum identified above was offered up in recognition of the seamless interrelation between professional and managerial activity, whilst also recognising that it is a reverse-sequential appreciation of the context within which problems are framed and solutions provided that creates the key to success as far as the professional's client is concerned. The continuum recognises internal and external components of context and, importantly, suggests three thematic stages of development. The first, focusing on internal issues will see progress along the continuum from practising as a professional with an emphasis on technical issues (described as Process Professionals) to practising as a Managing Professional. This stage of the continuum would, for example, represent the growth of an

individual towards managing colleagues of similar disciplines or, if multi-disciplinary, colleagues engaged in similar projects. The main focus of growth in engagement with management is internal, in the sense that it is about understanding the relevance of the managerial approach to problem solving and the mechanism and language through which its various components come together and operate. This may be exemplified, for example, by increasing understanding of the differences and similarities of the words responsible and accountable internally and in a managerial context and its value in effectively managing a team.

The second stage, increasingly focusing on external issues, will see progress along the continuum from Managing Professional to Professional Manager. This stage of the continuum would, for example, represent the growth of individuals towards managing colleagues from a variety of professional disciplines or a variety of different sorts of projects. The main focus of growth in engagement with management is now external, in the sense that it is about understanding the managerial approach to problem framing. This may be exemplified by moving forward the understanding of responsibility and accountability from a consideration of how it governs roles and relationships of one's team members to how it impacts and describes the various stakeholders comprising and influencing one's client.

The continuum reverses the logical practical ordering of the need to appreciate problem framing prior to problem solving but it does mirror the individual's growth in his or her profession, which would enable an easier programming or assimilation of management skills, part and parcel with enhancing professional competences. This approach would also assist the mitigation of the reaction against managerialism as an alternative or substitute and possible contradictory set of values by inculcation through stealth as part of a definition of management as a seamless web of achieving.

There are also other obstacles to management development of our professionals since, in addition to those tribal and culturally socialised barriers capable of being overcome by interweaving additional skills and appreciation as part of an individual's natural growth in his or her profession, there are stereotypical language barriers, procedural issues (it is likely that some professionals would react negatively to a second set of systemised procedures) and a predilection among professionals to label and pigeonhole that would have been the envy of their Victorian forebears.

The language issues exist on a number of levels and the evidence suggests that we first need a shared lexicon such that there is a shared understanding of both components, processes and principles. It will also assist recognition that many components and processes can comfortably exist as management or professional activities. The recognition of the importance of language and the need for a common understanding will also assist the interpretation of managerial jargon which has helped professionals to see managers as rivals in the quest towards the mystification and exclusive ownership of expert knowledge.

The natural predilection of professionals to label, pigeonhole and catalogue will, it must be accepted, make the presentation of the managerial approach as a seamless web of interactions more challenging. The achievement of improved engagement with management as a seamless inter-activity, in addition to reducing opposition or reaction based on competing value systems, will also assist the emergence of role models and case studies for our aspirant Professional Managers to study and follow, since it is suggested that this may be a barrier to an improving rate of change.

In addition to suggesting the identification of a way forward for management development of our architects, engineers and surveyors, it is helpful to remember that although the approach would assist colleagues in private practice it is essentially designed for local government, where the number of stakeholders and political contextual understanding required of professionals at a senior level is commensurately heightened. That is not to say that it is not relevant to central government and the not-for-profit sector. Nor is the researcher suggesting it would not be applicable to the largest or more diverse private sector firms.

As the Thesis draws to a close, the researcher offers a further thought. This thought, or thoughts, revolves around the use of triangulation which evolved out of the professional background of the researcher and developed in sophistication and application as the Thesis moved forward. Moreover, the use of triangulation as a mechanism for organising research and planning the disciplined movement of the Thesis forward has also assisted with the disciplining of the research as a sequential process, which has been particularly helpful in enabling this researcher to strike an easier balance with his experiential base. The use of triangulation is offered as a separate outcome of the research.

Please comment on the statements below by ticking a box to the right which best agrees with your personal view.

<i>It is important to me :</i>	Strongly agree	Agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
to advance to the upper levels of management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to anticipate clients requirements	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to be evaluated on the basis of my management skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to be evaluated on the basis of my professional/technical skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to communicate the big picture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to contribute to improving the built environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to contribute to the workings of a professional body	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to decide on priorities for tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to decide who does what and when	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to determine quality standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to develop and utilise recognised management skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to enhance the reputation of my local authority	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to establish a reputation as an outstanding professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to gain approval of my colleague professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to gain the approval of my line manager	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to have a variety of projects or tasks on the go	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to have authority over the team	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to have formal professional qualifications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to have management training.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to have time and cost targets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to keep an overview of the whole process	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to keep discipline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to keep the paperwork up to date	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<i>It is important to me :</i>	Strongly agree	Agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
to lead by example	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to make principled, rather than pragmatic, decisions and not to compromise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to monitor individuals performance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to plan and prioritise work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to provide a source of motivation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to train and develop colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to understand colleagues work problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to understand the full detail and complexity of the task in hand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to work on one task or project to completion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

About you***Please complete the boxes with your personal characteristics***

How many years have you been working in the profession

How many years have you been working in Local Government

Sex

Male

☐

Female

☐***Please state your professional specialism***

Engineering

☐

Architecture

☐

Surveying

☐

And lastly, if you would like to receive a synopsis of the findings of this research including an analysis of how your views relate to the rest of the sample please include your name and address below:

Thank you for taking time to fill in this questionnaire - please return in the envelope provided

Please comment on the statements below by ticking a box to the right which best agrees with your personal view.

	<i>It is important to me :</i>	Strongly agree	Agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
(1) Om	to advance to the upper levels of management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2) L	to anticipate clients requirements	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3) Om	to be evaluated on the basis of my management skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4) Op	to be evaluated on the basis of my professional/ technical skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(5) L	to communicate the big picture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(6) Op	to contribute to improving the built environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(7) Op	to contribute to the workings of a professional body	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(8) L	to decide on priorities for tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(9) L	to decide who does what and when	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(10) L	to determine quality standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(11) Om	to develop and utilise recognised management skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(12) Om	to enhance the reputation of my local authority	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(13) Op	to establish a reputation as an outstanding professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(14) Mp	to gain approval of my colleague professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(15) Mm	to gain the approval of my line manager	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(16) Mm	to have a variety of projects or tasks on the go	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(17) L	to have authority over the team	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(18) Mp	to have formal professional qualifications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(19) Mm	to have management training.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(20) L	to have time and cost targets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(21) L	to keep an overview of the whole process	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(22) L	to keep discipline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(23) L	to keep the paperwork up to date	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	<i>It is important to me :</i>	Strongly agree	Agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
(24) L	to lead by example	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(25) Mp	to make principled, rather than pragmatic, decisions and not to compromise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(26) L	to monitor individuals performance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(27) L	to plan and prioritise work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(28) L	to provide a source of motivation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(29) L	to train and develop colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(30) L	to understand colleagues work problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(31) Mm	to understand the full detail and complexity of the task in hand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(32) Mp	to work on one task or project to completion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

About you

Please complete the boxes with your personal characteristics

How many years have you been working in the profession

How many years have you been working in Local Government

Sex

Male

☐

Female

☐

Please state your professional specialism

Engineering

☐

Architecture

☐

Surveying

☐

And lastly, if you would like to receive a synopsis of the findings of this research including an analysis of how your views relate to the rest of the sample please include your name and address below:

Thank you for taking time to fill in this questionnaire - please return in the envelope provided

APPENDIX B – ORIENTATION

It is important to me

- Q1 to advance to the upper levels of management
- Q3 to be evaluated on the basis of my management skills
- Q11 to develop and utilise recognised management skills
- Q12 to enhance the reputation of my local authority

Individual Averages
All-in Average

Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
3.13	2.64	2.55
2.59	2.60	2.61
2.28	2.42	2.64
1.82	2.15	2.09
2.45	2.47	2.46
	2.46	

Managerial Orientation Weighted Average 2.46

It is important to me

- Q4 to be evaluated on the basis of my professional skills
- Q6 to contribute to improving the built environment
- Q7 to contribute to the workings of a professional body
- Q13 to establish a reputation as an outstanding professional

Individual Averages
All-in Average

Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
1.52	1.75	1.80
1.36	2.00	2.18
2.09	3.07	2.82
1.66	1.98	1.91
1.65	2.20	2.17
	2.01	

Professional Orientation Weighted Average 2.09

Sample Size	Architects	34
	Engineers	99
	Surveyors	44
Significant % Differences	Architects	±17%
	Engineers	±10%
	Surveyors	±15%
	All-in	±7.5%

APPENDIX C – MINDSET

It is important to me	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q14 to gain approval of my colleague professionals	2.25	2.16	2.18
Q15 to gain the approval of my line manager	2.24	2.18	2.32
Q16 to have a variety of projects and tasks on the go	1.76	2.19	2.16
Q18 to have formal professional qualifications	1.50	2.35	1.77
Q19 to have management training	2.31	2.44	2.41
Q25 to make principled rather than pragmatic decisions	3.26	3.24	3.09
Q31 to understand the full detail & complexity of the task in hand	1.61	2.02	1.86
Q32 to work on one task or project to completion	2.42	3.41	3.03

Sample Size	Architects	34
	Engineers	99
	Surveyors	44
Significant % Differences	Architects	±17%
	Engineers	±10%
	Surveyors	±15%
	All-in	±7.5%

APPENDIX D – LANGUAGE

	Architects	Engineers	Surveyors
Q2 to anticipate clients requirements	2.09	1.98	1.73
Q5 to communicate the big picture	2.13	2.33	2.35
Q8 to decide on priorities for tasks	1.79	1.84	1.84
Q9 to decide who does what and when	2.13	2.54	2.50
Q10 to determine quality standards	2.00	2.37	2.52
Q17 to have authority over the team	2.50	2.88	3.05
Q20 to have time and cost targets	2.00	2.23	2.27
Q21 to keep an overview of the whole process	1.69	2.01	1.77
Q22 to keep discipline	2.30	2.31	2.30
Q23 to keep the paperwork up to date	1.97	2.39	2.34
Q24 to lead by example	1.94	1.89	2.18
Q26 to monitor individuals performance	2.53	2.90	2.95
Q27 to plan and prioritise work	1.62	1.92	1.80
Q28 to provide a source of motivation	1.97	2.17	2.39
Q29 to train and develop colleagues	2.42	2.22	2.66
Q30 to understand colleagues work problems	2.06	2.24	2.23

Sample Size	Architects	34
	Engineers	99
	Surveyors	44
Significant % Differences	Architects	±17%
	Engineers	±10%
	Surveyors	±15%
	All-in	±7.5%

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